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FOR A

**PROFESSORSHIP OF
LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY AND
ECONOMICS**

ESTABLISHED 1913











FATHER ANTHONY D. FAHEY
("El patriarca irlandés")

THE STORY OF THE IRISH IN ARGENTINA

BY
THOMAS MURRAY

A greeting and a promise unto them all we send:
Their character our character, their glory our reward —
Their friend shall be our friend, our foe will be our foe.
The glory and the story of the sea-divided Gael,
One in name and in fame,
Are the sea-divided Gael.

—MURRAY.

NEW YORK
P. J. KENEDY & SONS
1919



ANTHONY D. FAHEY
(as "Mr. Sanders")

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—M'GILL;

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SA 5246.669
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*Latin-American
Professorship fund*

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BY THOMAS MURRAY**

TO
THE IRISH-ARGENTINE PEOPLE

Amongst whom I have passed so many pleasant years,
this story of their life, from far colonial days to the
end of the last century, is fondly dedicated

BY THE AUTHOR

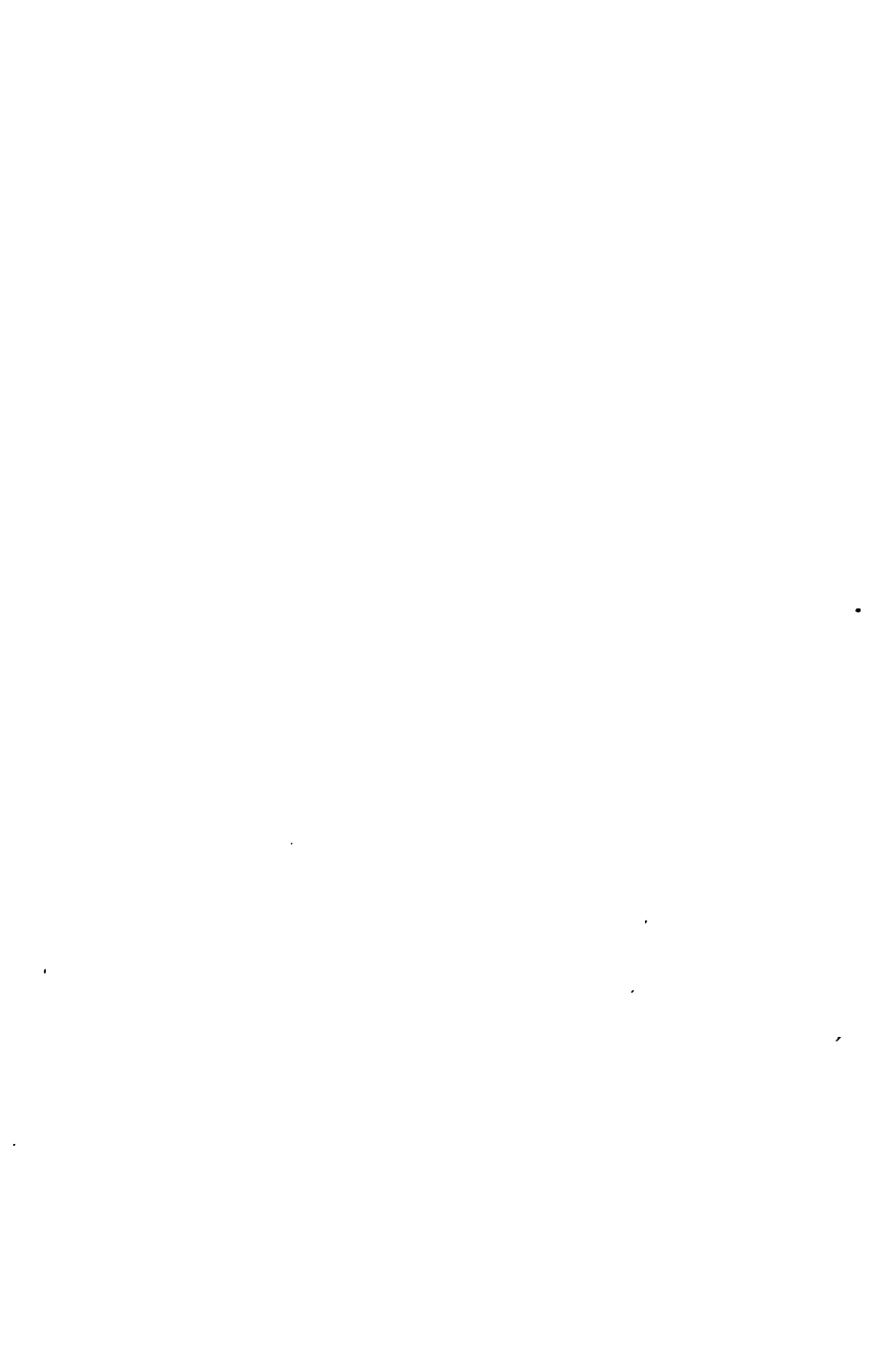
PREFACE

THE material from which "The Story of the Irish in Argentina" has been composed was collected, for the most part, from the books, newspapers, magazines and periodicals named in the list given at the end of the book, and almost all of which publications can be consulted in the national and municipal libraries of Buenos Aires. The public libraries in Rosario have also been availed of to some extent. Information picked up in various ways through many years of intimate association with "old-timers," both Argentine and Irish born, has also been utilized pretty freely, while items of personal experience, and pamphlets and books loaned by friends supplied practically all the other matter incorporated.

I must here express my very sincere gratitude to these friends and to the officials of the public libraries, to which I had recourse in the pursuit of my undertaking, for their courtesies and willingness to help me in my search.

The labor of compiling this book was not undertaken with any other aim than that of doing a very agreeable service to our race, particularly that part of it whose lot has been cast in the Argentine Republic. I have tried to be moderate and truthful in all my criticisms and statements, and if I have in any way failed in this purpose it was not for lack of good will and honest intention.

T. M.



THE STORY OF THE IRISH IN ARGENTINA

Some Account of their first Coming,
Settlement and Progress

INTRODUCTION

I

BEFORE commencing to tell of the Irish people in Argentina and to follow their course from their first and very small beginnings, in times, which in American chronology can be called remote, I think it well to devote some pages to the early history of the race, or races, from which the people I am going to write about is sprung. I shall also occupy a chapter in treating, in a general way, of the great land in which my theme is set. Thus, I believe, will the value of my efforts be heightened for those who are not, from one cause or another, in a position to make themselves fairly conversant with Irish and Argentine history.

Someone has said that the history of Ireland has still to be written. The remark, if not made by this someone with a view to appearing wise and witty, was inspired by a wish to disparage the work of the many laborious and learned men who have toiled in the field of Irish historical research, and who have left numerous excellent volumes elucidating

every conceivable phase, ancient and modern, of their country's story. In so far as there is any truth in the remark it is equally applicable to every other country that has a history stretching back through a number of centuries. To know such a history well it is necessary to read many volumes and many authors. No historian, no matter how learned, impartial and diligent, can write a complete, wholly unbiased, and thoroughly authoritative work. The more I read of history the more I am convinced of the correctness of this view. I have never found two authors describe any great historical event of whose description it might be said that one was as good and complete in every way, as the other. The particular point of view, personal feeling or special interest always under- or over-colored some feature, ignored altogether or lent undue importance to some incident, or in some more serious way asserted itself. Thus, for example, in the few well-known cases of the battles of Clontarf, Fontenoy, and in the English invasion of Buenos Aires, how many authors agree in all the details? I have not met any two that did. Yet every historical work that I have read while lacking something had always some special value of its own. Hence it is that twenty volumes of history written by seven or eight good authors are almost certain to be seven or eight times more instructive and useful, historically, than twenty volumes written by one good author. So that Ireland, although not possessed of any one great and all-embracing historical work, with her hundreds of books of history, written by scores of good authors, has her records very complete, many-phased and authoritative. But many books must be studied before her story can be thoroughly comprehended, as is the case with all other countries having a history worth studying. I say so much on this matter of written Irish history because I have often been asked: Whose is the best history of Ireland? All the histories are very well worth reading, and the *best one* is the one that deals most fully with the period or department of history that one is particularly interested in. I

shall have occasion to mention some highly recommendable works before I close this introduction.

In pre-Christian times Ireland was colonized at seven distinct periods and by different tribes of no less a number.

The first person of whom mention is made as coming to Ireland was a woman named Ceasair and she is said to have brought fifty maids and three men in her train. Her visit is timed at some short while before the Flood. Her fate and that of all her retinue is very pathetically and interestingly told, but has too much of the romantic and, seemingly, impossible about it to be set down as history.

Partholan succeeded the lady Ceasair after a very considerable lapse of time. His reign is supposed to have commenced about three hundred years after the Deluge. He was a Scythian and must have had a numerous following, to judge from the size of their burial mound at Tallaght in Dublin. They nearly all died off from some sudden and terrible plague that fell upon them. Not long after this a people whom writers call Nemedians, from their leader, Nemeid, possessed themselves of the island, and they, probably, were the originators of the story, true or otherwise, about the fate of Partholon and his people. Some authors say these Nemedians peopled Scotland and England, led by a chieftain called Briotain Maol, and that it was from this Briotain the island got its name, Britain.

Then began to come the Fomorians from the North of Africa. They are sometimes called traders, but mostly regarded as pirates. The word signifies *sea-robbers*, or what is latterly called *pirates*. The line between the two occupations, that of traders and that of pirates, was probably not very distinctly drawn thirty-five hundred years ago.

The Firboigs (Bagmen), were a sort of slaves in Greece who were used in the public works of their time, in carrying building and other materials in bags on their backs, to wherever their masters wanted such matter removed. They became, as the Greeks were successful in their wars, very numerous, and one day finding the Greeks in difficulties with

some of their neighboring enemies, and acting on the wise old principle, "the boss's difficulty is the bondsman's opportunity," they struck work, picked up any useful thing they could lay their hand upon and turned Westward, reaching Ireland in due time. There are writers who disagree with this story and make the word "Firbolg" to stand for *men of the Volga* (Firvolga), Volgamen instead of Bagmen. Anyhow, they are said to have been the fifth band of colonizers to reach the Western Isle, and so far the most successful. Their domination of the country was short, however, for the Tuatha de Danann people arrived soon after and easily conquered them.

These Tuatha de Danann (pron. Tooaha de Danánn), were very skilled in the arts of chemistry and metal-working, knew something of legerdemain and probably anything that was then to be known of what was called magic. They were more given to their arts and sciences than to war or agriculture; the Firbolgs were peace-loving and inclined to farming the land; the interests of the two races rarely clashed, so they lived in comparative peace. The subject people was by far the more numerous, but the higher civilization of the other gave it dominance. The simple-minded Firbolgs regarded their conquerors somewhat as the aborigines of the West Indian Islands regarded the Spaniards in the first years of the Discovery. They, the De Dananns, could do numberless things which seemed to the humble tillers of the soil as only in the power of supernatural beings. It was undoubtedly this notion that gave rise to the belief that when life was over in human form these De Dananns went into the green hills—they mostly buried their dead in such places—and raths and became fairies, good people, gentle folk. They were fair or red-haired people, and the Beansidhe, one of the most important and respected of all the fairy race, is usually red-haired. It is true, however, that her sympathies are exclusively pro-Milesian, but the red hair, her residence in the green hills and raths, and the very fact that she is a *sidhe* incline me to give her to the

Dananns, although I would like well to be justly able to claim her as one of our own stock. Their turn of power on the island is thought to have lasted about three generations. It came to an end with the advent of the Milesians. I shall have nothing more to say about the first four colonies mentioned in this sketch as they seem to have had no descendant on the island in the time of the fifth or sixth invasion. They probably made no permanent settlements in the land at any time.

The offsprings of the two latter colonies were plentiful and strong when the most powerful and warlike of all of Ireland's colonizers, the Milesians, reached her shores. These experienced but little difficulty in overcoming the De Dananns, but a couple of good fights seem to have been made in Connact where the already conquered race lent a hand to their old and not too exacting masters. But the Southern Moytura, on the shores of Lough Mask, near Cong, was to them what Clontarf was in after years to the Danes. The remnant who escaped that fatal day retreated to the isles and mountain fastnesses swept by the Atlantic winds and gave no more trouble to the new-comers. They seem to have died out, as a people, and no trace of them remains except some rude fortress ruins in Galway and Kerry, and the "good people" who have a glorious kingdom of their own, that's as wide as the whole island, and that is likely to last while our deeply spiritual race survives on the island. They have also the honor, it would appear, of giving Ireland her present name as well as a couple of other names less generally known. The story is, briefly, this: There were three princesses, sisters, who acquired equal rights to the queenship of Ireland; they were Eire, from whom Ireland or Eireland, land of Eire, Banba and Fodla. They agreed to reign each in her turn for seven years. Eire took the first turn, Banba next and then Fodla. Each of them had reigned duly and Eire was serving her second term as queen when the Milesians came. This circumstance, it is said, is what has fastened her name to the island more

steadily than that of either of her sisters. It is said, too, by some that she married one of the Milesian chiefs. The foregoing is not, however, the only explanation of the name, Ireland, but I give it as the one which seems to me the most probable, but with a certain amount of reserve as to some of the details in the tradition.

The Milesians had now full control of the island. The Firbolgs, attending to their farm-work, accepted their new masters about as readily as they did their previous ones. In time the two races intermarried and commingled so that were it not that the older settlers were so numerous and virile in Connact the new-comers would have absorbed them, and, indeed, they have, to all intents and purposes, done so, for it is only the learned who can discern to-day any real traces of that race, and these only in the counties beyond the Shannon.

The Milesians, from whom the Irish people are principally descended, have a history reaching back to Adam. This may seem an exaggeration, but the genealogies set down in written form fourteen hundred years ago give the names of all the fathers, leaders, chiefs and kings down to that time and we have written records ever since.

Japheth, Noah's son, settled his people around the Black and Caspian seas. In time their descendants occupied all South-eastern Europe. Various tribes grew up and spread west and southward in search of new and broader lands on which to make their homes. They began filling up all Southern Europe, and spread, more or less, into Asia Minor and Northern Africa. A chieftain named Brath, who was, we are told, thirty-third in descent from Adam, was promised by an old druid that his people should inherit an island in the west. This Brath had full faith in the words of the druid and always spoke of this prophesied inheritance as "Inisfail," Island of Destiny, and he it was, with his people, who set out to seek it. In time, and after many sojourns here and there, they reached Spain and took possession of the Northwestern part of that country,

and which is now called Galicia—land of the Gaels. Gael (phonetic spelling), being the founder of the tribe his children and their people were called Gaels, and the race still bears the name. Brath's son, Brogan, who headed the nation in his time, built the town of Brigantine, now Coruña, and Briganza in Portugal; he also built a great tower at Coruña, the remains of which are still to be seen. Milesius was this Brogan's grandson, from whom the Milesians.

Milesius seems to have been in many ways the prototype of our present Mr. Roosevelt; he traveled much in foreign parts, visited Egypt, was fond of fighting and twice married. His second wife was Scota, daughter of one of the Pharaohs. In due time he ascended the throne of Spain, or that part of Spain which the Gaels held, probably Galicia and some surrounding districts. And as it happened when Mr. Roosevelt was at the headship of his nation so did it come to pass with Milesius, a great business crisis came to bother him; there were bad times and want in the land. His people, as people have been doing ever since, put all the blame for their misfortunes on the government. If his term at the head of affairs had been a four-years' one, his chances of being rechosen for the office would scarcely be anything more hopeful than were those of his double in the United States when last that champion wooed the fickle oracle who conveys her decrees through the ballot boxes. But he had no such troubles to face, and those he had he met very wisely. He reminded his people that the gods were angry with all of them for so long neglecting the injunction laid upon them through their great ancestor by the druid who told them they should seek the Inisfail till it was found, and that they should possess it then. He there and then set to preparing an expedition to go in search of it once more, but died while thus engaged. His eight sons, however, carried out his designs, and the Isle of Destiny was possessed by "our great forefathers," as Tom Moore called them. Milesius' wife survived him and went with her sons to Ireland. Her name was Scota, and

she, too, gave a name to Ireland, a gift, indeed, which has been a fruitful source of confusion and misunderstanding in ages after. In the early ages of Christianity the people of Scotia, Ireland, colonized Alban, or what is now called Scotland, and, supposedly, to establish a title to the land or to prove from whence they came, they called it after their native country, as we have seen in times, ever so much more recent, New England and New Spain, in America, called after the native countries of their colonizers. Well, the two Scotias were spoken so loosely of by old writers from the Continent that it is often hard, except for the very scholarly, to know whether Ireland or Scotland is meant in some important references, so wherever an opportunity offers with any advantage for his land the "canny Scot" of the latter generations has come forward to show that his is and always was the true and only real Scotia. In the first century of the Christian era a Roman poet, but an Irishman born, has some very pretty verses on Ireland, the first couplet of which verses runs thus in the translation:

Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame,
By Nature blest and Scotia is her name.

The foregoing remarks are but the merest synopsis of the history of the coming of the Milesians by Spain. Other authors hold that they came from the great nursery land of the European races, Scythia,¹ overland in generations of wanderings, but ever tending Westward and finally reaching Ireland through Britain. The traces of the Gael in Spain and Portugal would seem to give, what I may call the Spanish route, the greater probability. It is a fact, too, that many of the very old traditions and legends of the Irish people relate in one way or another to Spain. And

¹ Scythia, so important a region in ancient history, is not to be found now on the ordinary map. It extended, roughly, from the Baltic Sea to the Sea of Arral in Asia, and from the Caucasus as far northwards as the cold permitted people then to advance with any degree of comfort. The most part of this region is now Russian territory.

in those old romances kings and princesses come and go between the two countries, and lend each other armies and domestic animals, the latter usually enchanted, with a freedom and friendliness as though they were next-door neighbors. But it is quite possible that both contentions are well grounded, and that a colony of Celts, for they were all Celts and spoke the same language, more or less, came by each route. One by Spain and the other across the European Continent and by Britain. According to Dr. Hyde (*Literary History of Ireland*, p. 1): "The Celtic race and the Celtic language sprung from what is to-day modern Germany, and issuing thence established for over two centuries a vast empire held together by the ties of political unity and a common language over all Northwest and Central Europe." Within these two centuries it is very likely some considerable numbers of this adventurous and subjugating people made their way to Ireland, where they found their cousin Gaels from Spain, and settled amongst them peacefully; and just because they came peacefully and, probably, in no great numbers at any one time, escaped the notice of the chroniclers. There is a great want of agreement among authorities as to the year, or even the century, in which these Gaelic and Celtic settlements were made in Ireland.

Five hundred years before the birth of Christ the Phœnicians were trading with the island and they used to call it "The Sacred Isle." [The "Isle of Woods" and the "Isle of Streams" were other names it had and they, being so correct, would go to show how well it must have been known to writers in those very remote times. Its pastures seem to have been as remarkable for their richness then as they still are, for a writer in the first century, to confirm his statements as to the luxuriance with which the grass sprung up in the fields, mentions that the cattle used to burst from over-feeding.

Before passing on to the next stock that left its imprint on our race, to some very small extent, it is worth

while to consider briefly the sources of Irish history, that what I have already set down may not be considered as mere romancing or guess-work of somewhat modern date. The Milesians or Gaels, it is well known, as was the custom with eastern peoples, had learned men set apart for the keeping of the traditions and genealogies of their nation. This order of things was quite necessary as the inheriting of land and certain important offices in the tribe depended on what might be called the family title-deeds. The Hebrews and the Egyptians, with whom the Gaels in their early wanderings in the East often found themselves in close contact, had somewhat similar institutions. It was customary with our ancestors from the earliest times to hold periodical conventions presided over by the most learned men of their nation, and at these gatherings their genealogies and public records were carefully examined, and rectified where necessary.

In the third century of Christianity there was a king at Tara, the learned and wise Cormac MacArt, who called together one of these assemblies. *Feis* is what it was called in the Irish language. At that Feis or Convention all the old annals and records then in existence were gone through and considered with the greatest care, and from them was compiled a history of the nation, which history was called the "Psalter of Tara." Two hundred years later St. Patrick and eight other learned men were appointed by King Leary to do a somewhat similar work, and the famous "Book of Rights" was the result of their labors. Four hundred years later again, towards the close of the ninth century, Cormac MacCuilenan, Archbishop of Cashel and King of Munster, compiled from the aforesaid Psalter of Tara and many other books then in existence, his famous book, the Psalter of Cashel, which book, after a thousand years, can still be seen in the British Museum, London. So that we to-day can consult MacCuilenan's book. MacCuilenan tells us that he consulted MacArt's book, MacArt's commission consulted various books and documents back

to Theirmas, 800 years B. C., and he, Theirmas, of course, had some sort of data out of which to compose his records. I think, in view of these facts, and they are only a few of the many that could be adduced to this end, that the historic records of Ireland, for some twenty-three hundred years, may be regarded as fairly trustworthy.

Within a few generations after St. Patrick's time Christianity had become the only religion in Ireland. Great colleges were already opened and from these great colleges great teachers, great saints, came forth to complete Patrick's work. Of the colleges, Clonard on the confines of what is now Meath and Westmeath, was in the beginning the most renowned. Of it a recent historian has said in "Life of St. Columcille": "It was from Clonard came forth those twelve great men who are called the twelve apostles of Erin. They were the great men who built up Ireland, and completed the work of Patrick and Brigid." But the great schools of Erin at this time and for centuries after could be counted by the score; Moville, Armagh, Glasnevin, Fermoy, Durrow, Clonmacnoise, St. Edna's, in Arran, and Birr are only a few of the more noted ones. These centuries, sixth, seventh, and eighth, were the golden age of Erin. Not alone did religion and education flourish in the land as they never did before or since, but social and political progress also were marked and continuous. A few of the great peaceful reforms effected in that period were the regulating of the bardic order and the correcting of abuses that had grown up with the extravagant pretensions of the order through continuous unchecked privilege; the recognition by treaty of the independence of the Gaelic colony of Scotland; the arbitration of a question of succession to the throne, which would otherwise have brought on a devastating war; the abolition of the system of enslavement of prisoners of war; the releasement of women of all conditions from the obligation of military service, and many others of less importance. It was when this happy period was developing with highest promise that the

scourge of another invasion, and the most destructive one so far, fell upon the fated isle. The Danes came—ruthless Pagans from the north countries. They massacred, sacked and burned with a cruelty and zeal that never thought of quarter, and that seemed to have no aim but plunder and destruction—carry away whatever of value was portable, and destroy what could not be carried off. The monasteries and churches, where there was great wealth, in ornaments and sacred utensils, were a special prey of these fierce marauders. The colleges situate close to the seashore, and so in easier reach of the plunderers, were the first to be demolished. Clonmacnoise, located very near the center of the island, and for this reason a little more secure against raids, was burned half a dozen times, and as often rebuilt, and managed to weather the storms of time and warfare till the “Reformation,” when it was finally plundered and suppressed by the English.

For about two hundred and fifty years the Northmen kept up their destroying incursions. They made some dozen or so settlements along the coast of the island, the chief of which was Dublin. At one time they overran the country so completely as to be powerful enough to set up a high king or overlord of their own. Cruel and brutal as Pagan robber could be was this overlord of theirs, Turgesius. He issued an edict, or sent forth a command, ordering all the daughters of the Irish chieftains and principal men in the districts surrounding Lough Ree to come to his court on an island in the beautiful lake on a certain day. Malachy, who was afterwards Ard Righ and who was then a youth of some fifteen or sixteen years of age and remarkably handsome, organized a band of youths like himself, dressed as young ladies and armed with trusty skians, the Irish poniard, safely concealed in their princely robes, and set out, as it were, in obedience of the Dane’s orders. At a given moment they fell upon Turgesius and his fellow feasters killing or disabling all of them. Bands of Irish soldiers who were waiting in concealment close by,

at a preconcerted signal, attacked the fort which was soon in their possession, and the daring usurper and oppressor, who never showed mercy to an enemy, was dealt with in kind. Loaded with chains, the historians tell us, he was taken eastward through Westmeath and thrown into Lough Ennel. There were then small Danish pickets scattered all over the Midlands of Ireland, somewhat as the Peelers are at the present time, to spy on and overawe the people. The victory of Malachy was, as it were, a signal for attack on all such outposts and the Danish power was reduced once more to its strongholds on the coast. From then war with the strangers in one part of the island or another was continuous till the great day of Clontarf, Good Friday, 1014, one of the most glorious days in Irish history, or, indeed, in the history of any country. Brian the Great fell that day, *farior*, but so also, never to rise again, did the power of the plundering Northmen, so long the scourge of the Western Isles.

These invaders are commonly called Danes although they came less from Denmark than from Sweden and Norway. They were great fighters, had little fear of God or man, and were as wild and pitiless as the stormy seas on which they loved to ride in their strong-ribbed, well-manned ships. They made some impression on the race particularly in Dublin, Limerick, Wexford, Dundalk and a few other places where they had settlements, but as to the whole nation scarcely any more than did the ancient Tuatha De Danann.

A little over one hundred and fifty years after Clontarf, and when Ireland had been well on the road to recovery from the wreck and disorganization of her institutions consequent on the long strife with the Northmen, the treachery of one of her chieftains plunged her once more into the misfortunes of invasion and war. The story of MacMurrough is so well known that I need give it no more consideration here than to say that this ill-starred king's banishment and return in time with foreign auxiliaries for the re-establishment of his fortunes is not a case singular to

Ireland. Its counterpart can be found with more or less variations of detail frequently in history, earlier and even later than the time of him "who brought the Normans o'er." Classic history is not without such examples, and it was to assist the Romanized Britons against their countrymen of the older civilization that the Anglo-Saxons were brought to England, with the result that they remained there imposing their government, language and name on the country. It was, too, an Iberian MacMurrough that brought the scourge of the Moors on Spain, and Poland cannot lay the blame for its enslavement and martyrdom at the doors solely of its neighbors.

The Normans had been about one hundred years in England when MacMurrough sought their aid. They came first in numbers so insignificant that they were only regarded as mercenaries of the deposed king, and their presence in Leinster was merely taken as a matter of concern for the people of that kingdom. There must have been many in Leinster and in the other provinces who felt that MacMurrough had been badly treated, and to whom his success in the effort to recover his kingdom would bring nothing but pleasure. Kings, no matter how bad, are always pretty sure to have many strongly attached to them, and MacMurrough was not without his good qualities in the eyes of numbers of his people, and so with his few Normans, and his trouble being rather a local affair, he was able to set himself up again in his kingdom.

The foreigners who came with Dearnuid found the country very rich and beautiful, and meeting so little difficulty in reinstating the deposed ruler, they believed it would be easy to conquer the whole land, and they certainly knew the prize was one worth struggling for. The King of England was informed of all this, and being of the greedy and martial Norman breed, was not slow in adopting the proposals of his counselors. A strong expedition was prepared, and the Norman invasion was added to the many others. Devastating wars followed for centuries afterwards.

The newcomers were an educated, and for their time, highly civilized people; good fighters, and with a certain nobility of mein which the Irish rather liked. A Norman leader fought some clan till he got a footing in that clan's territory, then made an alliance with the half-defeated chieftain—of course, if the chieftain was crushed utterly, so much the better. Soon the Norman found means to provoke a quarrel between his new friend and his friend's neighbor; the extinction in time of this neighbor, or another alliance, with, if at all possible, a marriage and fosterages was next entered into; but the strangers were all the time making war and making headway. In a few generations they became Irish, as something different from Norman or English, but I never could think that it was correct to say, as the Abbe MacGeoghegan has written, that they "became more Irish than the Irish themselves." They adopted the Irish language and Irish customs, married Irish wives, and like Irish chiefs fought sometimes against the foreigner and sometimes on his side, but their great aim always was, power. The Irish political system, if it could be called such, was a very loose and unwise one for a country having a neighbor like England. The Normans rather aggravated than remedied its faults. Those leaders who are said to have become so Irish, often fought English authority, it is true, but not in the name of the Irish Nation, not as the chiefs or representatives of an independent people, but as wronged or rebellious leiges of the English monarch. Instead of Ireland an independent nation, their principle was, Ireland a dominion of the English King ruled by the Norman lords and for their sole use and benefit. The English monarch was their monarch all the time, and if they fought with him or his officials once in a while, the fight was not for Ireland's sake, but because they felt that those officials were interfering with their rights and privileges. The more they adopted Irish manners and customs and secured influence in the land the more a subject nation Ireland was becoming.

No other colonizers or invaders, with the exception of the Milesians, have made so deep an impress on what is to-day the Irish race as those brave, politic, and being politic, unscrupulous, Englishmen of the Norman blood. They established their families much more in Leinster than in any of the other provinces, although the Fitzgeralds of Munster and the Bourks of Connact were two of their most powerful families in Ireland. In Wexford and Westmeath there were many great Norman families, and from this fact our colony in Argentina has a larger proportion of Norman blood in its veins than any Irish colony elsewhere in the world. Of Wexford names we find Furlong, Pierce, Howland, Devereux or Devvery, Cardiff, Redmond, Power and many others. From Westmeath and the Midlands we meet Dalton, Nugent, Tuite, Dillon, Lacey, Petit, Delemar, Hope, Ledwith, Tyrrell, etc., etc.

These families, notwithstanding the origin of their names, are, of course, now as Irish as their neighbors who may have such unmistakable patronymics as Murphy, O'Connor, Geoghegan, Duggan, Maguire, Casey, Murray, Morgan, or Kelly. Ireland is a small country, comparatively, and with the passing of the centuries and the breaking up of the clan or tribe system, by which in former times practically all the people of a district were known by the clan name, such as O'Rian in Tipperary, O'Neill in Tyrone, O'Sullivan in West Cork and O'Byrne in Wicklow, etc., the people have mixed and scattered so that one may find now O'Driscolls and MacCarthys in Belfast, O'Kanes and O'Donnells in Cork or Dublin, O'Flaherties in Wexford and O'Tooles and MacLoughlins in Connemara.

The foregoing sketch does not purpose to be anything more than the merest glance at the principal events in the history of the formation of the race from which are sprung the people whose coming to and settlement in this country I am going to record and describe in as far as the materials I have been able to collect will enable me so to do. As I have already pointed out, at what to some will possibly

seem unwarranted length, the sources and repositories of Irish history, I deem it convenient here to mention a few of the authors who, I believe, can best assist any reader in whom a desire to know more about the history of Ireland may have been kindled by these pages. Keating Mac-Geoghegan, Moore and Dr. Hyde are the best I know on ancient Ireland. Magee, Mitchel and A. M. Sullivan are good on more modern times; then there is a host of authors of great learning and ability who have written of special periods or events, notably amongst them Mrs. Green, and the Dublin booksellers have free catalogues of all their works.¹

To sum up this part of my introduction, we have seen that before the coming of the Normans the Irish race was almost purely Milesian. The Firbolgan admixture being probably not one-tenth of the whole, and both being of the Celtic family and likely of pretty close kinship, they may almost be said to be one and the same strain. The Danish alloy is extremely small and except in the few districts mentioned as occupied for some time by them is not noticeable at all. Nor is the Norman strain as important as Norman effect on the national cognominity would suggest. For instance, where a Norman chief, by marriage or the strength and good fortune with which he fought, got the headship of some clan or territory, all the people of that territory, whether one or more clans, usually adopted his name, or were known to their neighbors by his title. Thus in time numbers of Irish families, without a drop of Norman blood in their veins, came to have Norman names. There are, perhaps, ten Bourkes and Fitzgeralds without the least strain of Norman ancestry in them, in any form, for the one of the name that has. So that the Norman tint in the

¹ When the above was written I had not read "Ireland's Case," by Mr. Seamus MacManus, but I gladly recommend it to the searcher for knowledge in this domain. It is a small and easily read volume, but I have never before seen so much information put in so narrow a compass, and so well put. I wish every Irish-Argentine would read it.

racial color may be set down as not very much deeper than that of the Firbolgs.

The campfollowers of Cromwell who seized the lands were never of the people, nor the people of them, they were hardly ever more than outlanders; and they are, as Standish O'Grady has written, "withering off the face of the earth," or, with the passing of landlordism, have to all intents and purposes withered and need not be considered here. James' plantation were mostly from Scotland, and they, like James himself, were of the Milesians. They are the Presbyterians and Orangemen of to-day, but that is only a matter of politics with them, and in lands where they had the luck to get away from that influence they have been one in name and in fame with the rest of their breed. For all the ups and downs of fortune the Irish Race is to-day Milesian, or Gaelic, and the latter is the better term, I think, as more inclusive and of a meaning with more in it. It is the purest race in Europe, its civilization is as old as that of the Greeks, it has done great things for the Christianizing and civilizing of the old world and the new; no one here or elsewhere need ever hang his head for being of that old Race.

II

AS the part of this introduction just closed is a sketch of the principal sources from which the Irish Nation is formed, so will this be a brief description, historical, geographical and sociological of the country in which this South American offshoot of that people has taken deep and lasting root.

I shall not follow the lines of many other foreigners who have written of the countries of the Rio de la Plata. Nearly all of a goodly number of such authors whom I have perused tell, in almost the same words, how Solis, Cabot, Mendoza and many other discoverers and colonizers came here and failed or succeeded in their mission. For me it

will be enough to say that Solis, the Spaniard, was the first European who sailed into the Rio de la Plata. He went on shore and the Indians killed him, this was in 1515. Cabot, a Venetian whom Mulhall, like other English writers, calls an Englishman, came ten years later and proceeded up the Parana as far as Paraguay. This mariner had distinguished himself in the service of England, but differing with the English monarch on account of the latter's failure to duly reward his labors,¹ he took service with the Spanish king and was the second commander to reach these shores. The real colonizer, however, was Mendoza who brought a number of men and women, amongst them one hundred and fifty Germans, with the horses, cows and sheep from which sprung in a few years, troops, herds and flocks in wild abundance, and which same stock in later years gave to Argentina its greatest, and up to the days of agricultural advancement, at the close of the Nineteenth century, its almost sole wealth. Mendoza founded the city of the "Most Holy Trinity, Port of Saint Mary of Good Airs," or in Spanish: Santisima Trinidad, Puerto de Santa Maria de Buenos Aires, in 1535. The settlement, however, was constantly harassed by the neighboring Indians and in a few years failed. Yet twelve hundred miles up the river, in Paraguay, progress was being made and communications had been opened across the continent with Peru. Forty-five years after Mendoza's attempt to found the city of Buenos Aires, a Spanish-Basque, Captain Juan de Garay, laid the foundations of the present city, a little distance north of the site Mendoza had chosen. The names of all the little band who came down the river with Garay and formed the new city are given by De Angelis, and number sixty-four. Amongst them is the name of one woman, Ana Diaz, and one of the men was Pedro Moran. The name, Moran, however, like that of Martin, Colman, Galvan and some others is as much Spanish as Irish. The sixty-four names mentioned I suppose represented as many families, and

¹ See De Angelis, v. 2, p. 84.

taking five for an average of the families the new city would seem to have started with a population of some three hundred souls. It is said that some of the first founders, or their children, half Indianized, still lingered around the old settlement. It was then, as was all the territory from the Portuguese possessions, the present frontier of Brazil, more or less, westward to the Pacific, under the control of the Viceroy of Peru. In 1661 it got a governor of its own with a sort of city council called an Audiencia, as did also Paraguay and Tucuman. There is a stone set in the street at the corner of the Cathedral and Plaza de Mayo where Rivadavia and San Martin meet, which was the spot marked by Garay as the center of the city.

The next event of importance in its history occurred towards the close of the Eighteenth century when what might be termed free trade with Spain, and greatly increased commercial liberty with all the other Spanish colonies, were granted under the governorship of Vertiz. This was the second American-born Spanish subject who had risen to the rank of Governor in these colonies. Hernando Arias, a Cordobes, was the first. Vertiz was a Mexican. They were both good Governors; in truth, the best these countries ever had under Spanish domination. As Americans, sons of the soil, they knew the wants and aspirations of the people better than Spanish-born rulers could, and they sought to serve those wants and respect those aspirations from motives of natural patriotism as much as from feelings of justice and wise statesmanship. Their government was something like native government—a kind of home rule.

Spanish colonization down to the time of Vertiz may be said to have followed the lines of least resistance in these provinces. In Paraguay, where the Indians were less antagonistic to the encroachments of the Europeans, and where they were more easily converted to the new order of things, cities were built, missions established and large areas of the country occupied, while far richer lands twelve hundred

miles nearer to the immigrant and colonizer, at the mouth of the great river, in Uruguay and Argentina were left for two hundred years almost untouched. Lujan, a dozen leagues from Buenos Aires, a day's walk, was the western outpost of civilization, while Chascomus in the South and Carmen de Areco, Salto and Pergamino in the North were border positions where the military were not always able to hold their own, at the beginning of the last century, and when Buenos Aires was already more than 250 years old. The Indians in these parts were bold warriors and only yielded to superior force and by slow degrees.

Through all this time none but a Spaniard was free to enter the country. The English Government, as one of the results of a long war in Europe, forced Spain to concede her the sole right of importing slaves into Buenos Aires, and an arrangement was come to whereby certain English officials necessary for the transaction of the slave business were allowed to live in the colony. In time, by marriage, a few families with English names were established in the city. These, however, were not the only families of non-Iberian blood in Buenos Aires in those days. Any free, native or naturalized subject of the Spanish monarch could settle here, and so, at least two of the leading heroes of the Reconquest and the Defense of Buenos Aires, as well as of the Revolution of May, were descended from such subjects, Pueyrredon and Belgrano. The father and the mother of the former being, respectively, French and Irish, while the father of the latter was an Italian born. But these are exceptions, and it is quite safe to say that at the time of the Revolution, outside the port of Buenos Aires, and excluding some prisoners of war and their children, scattered over Mendoza and Cordoba, the people of La Plata Province were wholly of Spanish, Spanish-Indian, negro and pure Indian blood.

The history of Buenos Aires from its founding down to the days of the Revolution is very largely the history of what is now Argentina. Although the cities of Tucuman,

Cordoba and Santa Fé are older in years, and have their days of "pride and sorrow" to look back to, their story is rather of local interest, and the historic events in their lives, though important in themselves are, owing to their remote interior positions, wholly of the family affair order. In Buenos Aires it was different. The struggle against the invader and the pirate was fairly continuous from its first days till the reign of Rosas. The city was but two years old when the Englishman, Fontain, in the name of Elizabeth, seized the island of Martin Garcia, the Gibraltar of the Parana, twenty miles away. The people of Garay's new foundation, however, made short work of his pretensions, and he never sought to reassert them. Five years later another English pirate, Thomas Cavendish, attempted the capture of the young city. Garay was no longer there; his star had set some three years previously in a midnight attack on his camp by Indians in Sante Fé; but the sturdy citizens met and repelled the freebooter with such spirit and determination that nearly two hundred years went by before another Englishman sought to make his country dominant in the Paraná region. Forty years of peaceful development gave wealth and business advantages enough to the rising port to tempt Dutch greed. Those were the days of Van Tromp's sweeping brush of the seas, yet powerful as were the Lowlands arms at that period, one attempt on Buenos Aires was all that Holland ever made; that one lesson the Portefios taught her in 1628 sufficed to convince her that La Plata was not to be hers.

The great Louis, who reigned over France for over seventy years with such glory and power, and who boasted that he was the state, sent his Captain Timothy Osmat to add Buenos Aires to France's spreading dominions just thirty years after the Dutch defeat. Osmat's failure was the most complete so far, for when the remnant of his attacking comrades retired to their ships it was without their leader, and all he won for his king in Buenos Aires was a soldier's grave.

The next to break the monotony of peace in the port of the "good airs" was a Dane, or as the old Gaelic writers used to call his ancestors, a "Lochlannah" (a man powerful at sea). As this was forty-one years after the Frenchman's essay it is likely that few of the actors in that glorious day's deed were on the ramparts when the Dane appeared, but men as brave and free took their places and the descendants of the daring Vikings fared no better than the sailors of the magnificent Louis.

The French landing which occurred the year before the Danish attack was probably only a piratical effort to sack the city, which by this time had the name of being very wealthy. Pointis got away with his life but that was just all the advantage he could claim over his countryman Osmat.

And now a period of sixty-three years elapsed before the Portefios were again called upon to meet an invading foe. The city was not this time attacked; but twenty miles away, on the eastern bank of the great river there was a settlement which from its very beginning had been an object of contention between the Spanish and Portuguese powers. At the time I am dealing with, however, it was Spanish territory. An English naval expedition sailed up to it one day in the latter part of 1762 and demanded its surrender. The commanding officer of the English forces was one MacNamara. Colonia, the town summoned to surrender, replied by calling all its citizens to arms and by appealing to the Government of Buenos Aires for immediate help in its resistance of the enemy. Bombardment and assault followed for some weeks till one day the ships and men from Buenos Aires hove in sight. MacNamara's flagship went smash under the Spanish fire, and in an effort to swim ashore he himself was lost. Twenty-five hundred prisoners and an enormous booty fell to the victors. Lopez quotes a writer who says: "Twenty-five hundred prisoners, a great number of cannons and a booty valued at four million pounds sterling were the fruits of the fortunate victory of November 3, 1762." Funes gives the date of the

victory as January 6, 1763. The prisoners were sent to Mendoza and Cordoba and may be considered the first non-Spanish settlers in the interior. The last-named author mentions that these prisoners were very useful because of their knowledge of various handicrafts. As a boy Funes must have personally known some of the captives in Cordoba; what a pity he has not told us something as to their personal appearances, manners and customs. There must have been many Irishmen amongst them, for although a treaty made soon after provided for their safe return, many of them refused to avail of this privilege, and I incline to the belief that these were mostly Irish who found captivity under the Spaniards greatly preferable to the liberty Irish Catholics then enjoyed under the English system.

Within ten years of the "fortunate victory" at Colonia the Portefios inflicted another overwhelming defeat on the forces of the same invader at the Malvina Islands and secured numerous prisoners which like those taken at Colonia were sent to the interior. A treaty, however, between Spain and England, made in 1775, the one above mentioned, deprived the Buenos Aires Government of the fruits of its victories, to a very large extent.

Someone has said, with more terseness than truth, that the Bourbons could never learn anything and never forget anything. Charles III of Spain, although scarcely the brightest of that regal tribe, learned at least one lesson. That one of world-wide import which commenced with what was wittily called, "the Boston Tea Party," and which cost England the best part of her North American colonies. Charles of Spain was an apter student than George of England and was not slow in putting in practice the knowledge he had acquired. In 1778 the Plate provinces were granted what amounted, practically, to free trade,¹ and all who treat of that period in Argentine history bear witness to the progress and social betterment which attended the measure. In this year Buenos Aires saw its first Viceroy,

¹ Hist. Argentina—Domingues.

and the largest military expedition that had as yet sailed into the River Plate. A new era was opened for this part of Spanish America. Surveys were commenced, boundaries defined, with garrisons set along them sufficiently strong to maintain them, for the time being, at least. The military system was wholly overhauled and organized; hospitals and colleges were regulated and equipped according to the newest and most approved methods; a census of the population made, and generally everything that good government could effect in a brief period was proceeding encouragingly. Ceballos was the new Viceroy, but Vertiz remained as Governor and military chief, and to him is most largely due the success with which the liberal and intelligent spirit of the Spanish Government of the day was attended. Ceballos returned to Spain after a couple of years and his place was filled by Vertiz to the honor of Spain and the great benefit of the Plate provinces. Succeeding historical events are so much a part of the work I have in hand in recording the story of the Irish in Argentina that I may close this part of my introductory sketch here.

Argentina is in area very nearly as large as Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Great Britain and Ireland all put together. Its territory extends from the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude to that of the fifty-fifth, or a distance of about two thousand miles. Its western limit is set along the principal peaks of the trackless Andes; its southern extremity is found where the last of the frozen islands of Tierra del Fuego is lashed by the South Polar seas; the Atlantic, Uruguay and Brazil make the line of its eastern border, while its northern boundaries are traced through the tropical forests and plains where Paraguay and Bolivia are its neighbors. It has, practically, all degrees of climate in which man can make his dwelling with anything like comfort. No nation has scenery more varied, noble and beautiful. In the west the bold Aconcagua, lord of the Andean heights, is hers, while one of the marks of her northeastern limit is the mighty Iguasú,

rivaling, if not outranking Niagara itself. There are forests in the Gran Chaco and in Patagonia, as yet almost unexplored, larger in area than Ireland. These forests afford timber from the hardest and heaviest to the softest and lightest, for almost every known need. In the northern provinces as well as in the Patagonian territories there are mountain regions with valleys, passes, dells, cascades, water courses, lakes and plateaus as wild and beautiful as any in Europe or North America; while all the world beside has nothing to compare with the luxuriant, boundless, solemn but fascinating Pampa.

Her natural wealth would take a volume much larger than this to even sketch in useful outline. For me it must suffice to mention those of her products at present best known and most in development. Beef, mutton, pork, wheat, maize, oats, barley, rye, flax, hay, all the root crops and vegetables of Europe; tea (*yerba maté*), coffee, tobacco, wine; nearly all the fruits grown in Europe, and many unknown there, are raised with great success. The full mineral wealth of the nation is scarcely yet known to even scientists in that domain of knowledge. Coal, iron, petroleum, copper, tin, lead and the precious metals are said to be plentiful, but as yet only very little has been done towards developing them.

The climate is good. Most foreign writers have spoken praisingly of it. Parish, who was English Consul to Buenos Aires in 1824, says: "In the Census of 1778, 33 cases are quoted of individuals then living in the city aged from ninety to a hundred; and seventeen from one hundred to one hundred and twelve. In the tables of mortality for 1823 and 1824, fifty-eight persons are stated to have died between the ages of ninety and a hundred; six between one hundred and one hundred and ten; three between one hundred and twelve and one hundred and sixteen; one of one hundred and twenty-eight and one of one hundred and thirty." The two last were females. The population of the city was then, according to Parish, about eighty thou-

sand. Mulhall and other writers note the many very old people to be met with throughout the country. Captain Page, U. S. Navy, writing in the Fifties, has this to say of the Province of Santiago del Estero. "The salubrity of the climate is unequalled. Fevers of a malignant type are unknown. In the whole state there is neither physician nor apothecary." That state, or province, had then fifty thousand inhabitants. The climate is undoubtedly, one thing with another, as good and agreeable as that of any country of similar area in the world, but the foregoing quotations are not to be taken as even suggesting that everybody in Argentina lives to be old, and that doctors and druggists are entirely needless.

The camp, "El Campo," as the country, as distinct from the town, is usually called by all, suffers occasionally from an over abundance of rain, but more frequently from prolonged droughts. The Argentine country, like most, if not all, other countries experiences, from time to time, what is known as a rainy year, or a dry year. Either one when phenomenally extreme in its way is accompanied by very considerable loss to the stock-raising and agricultural portion of the community. Up to a generation ago when tillage was comparatively little followed the rainy seasons were less harmful than the long droughts, for although animals, especially sheep, suffered from cold and damp, and not a little from the rankness of the grass, the loss in deaths from these causes was never very considerable; whilst long droughts, with the consequent failures of all pasture foods, oftentimes reduced people of liberal means to a state of total bankruptcy. Cases in abundance could be cited of owners of from two thousand to ten thousand sheep, who when one of these very prolonged and widely-extended droughts had run its disheartening course, found themselves possessed of but a few hundred wretched and sickly animals. Frequently in such famine periods the death rate would be so great that the owner could not find hands enough to save even the skins. These visitations are, for-

tunately, not of frequent occurrence, perhaps three or four in a generation would be about a fair average of their count. How they affect life in the camp will be seen as we proceed through the following pages, so I shall not dwell further on them at present.

Public education has been well attended to since the very beginning of the Republic, and even before the fall of the Spanish regime considerable progress had been made in that direction. When we consider the state of primary education in even the most advanced countries in those times, conditions in Buenos Aires were nothing to be ashamed of. As far back as 1778 there were ten hundred and twelve children in the public schools, besides a much larger number in private establishments. At this time in Ireland, under English rule, there were no public schools for the people, and it was a crime, punishable by law, to teach or be taught in the private schools, such as they were. It is to this barbarous condition Davis alludes in his "Penal Days" when he speaks of the people being "forbid to read." Another of the Irish poets of the last century has a verse more explicit of the educational opportunities then afforded to our ancestors, which runs:

Where crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge
Or stretched on mountain fern
The teacher and his pupils met,
Feloniously, to learn.

In 1777 the University of San Carlos was opened. From the banishment of the Jesuits, ten years previously, until this date, higher education in the chief city was almost non-existent. The progress of education, primary and higher, was fairly regular, however, from this date onward. The Revolutionary chiefs, especially General Belgrano and Moreno, were enthusiastic believers and workers in the cause of popular education. In 1825, as stated by Parish, there were in the free schools in Buenos Aires and the adjacent districts, 3384 boys and 1808 girls. At this time there

was no public school system in Ireland, governed by England.

Although there was a printing press in Buenos Aires for many years it was not till 1801 that a regular newspaper was published. "El Telegrafo Mercantil" was started that year, but had a very short life. Many others sprung up at intervals, with, however, scarcely any better success until 1823 when Hallet, An American, started "La Gaceta Mercantil," a daily paper which continued up to the fall of Rosas, 1852. From 1820 there is no more want of newspapers, but of the number which came, and went their way, excepting Hallet's paper the most important were the "Argos" and the "Lucero."

What the people did for a living, as the Americans express it, that is, what the chief business of the country was before the Revolution, will be instructive, and as far as I have been able to find out I hereinafter set it down:

For a dozen years or so after Garay's founding of the city there was no commercial intercourse directly with the colony. Its wants were not very many, and whether they were or not it had little to give in exchange for such articles as it might need. The earliest trade we hear of, although there must have been some traffic going on for some time before, is recorded in 1595, when one Gomez Reynal got permission from the Spanish Government to bring to Buenos Aires six hundred slaves. This is practically the date at which the commerce of Buenos Aires commenced. Funes, however, tells that in the time of the Governor, Torres de Vega, 1588, a shipment of sugar and hides was sent to Spain, and adds that, these were the first fruits which this province succeeded in exchanging for the superfluous products of European industry. Exporting hides, furs and, probably, maize, and chandling ships were the chief commercial pursuits for the first century or so of the colony. The home industry consisted in raising food stuffs; maize, wheat, potatoes and vegetables in general;

fencing in and extending their farms and minding their live stock from the Indians who were on every side their rather undesirable neighbors. In time it began to appear that it was easier and cheaper to ship the products of the mines and other industries from the northwestern provinces by the Parana and Buenos Aires route than by the old one, via Panama, and by the middle of the Eighteenth century a ship sailed fortnightly from Cadiz to the River Plate, and it is stated that the average yearly trade of Buenos Aires at that time amounted to more than a million and a half dollars, gold. A large portion of the goods making up this total came overland from Chili and Peru. The transshipping of this freight in Buenos Aires gave considerable employment, but the labor was mostly black, slave and semi-slave labor.

Mariano Moreno, the ablest South American of his time on matters of political economy, says that in 1806 three hundred ships were trading with Buenos Aires, that they annually carried away more than a million hides, a million pounds of tobacco, forty thousand tierces of Paraguayan tea and large quantities of timber, as well as meat, flour, wool, furs and other products. He estimates the overland trade at this time with Peru at eighteen million dollars, and added that Buenos Aires was the only city in America (South America?) that could be called commercial.

A little of what writers, native and foreign, had to say about Buenos Aires and its people at this period, will, I am sure, prove of enough interest to excuse me for lengthening these pages with a few quotations. The houses of the city would seem to have been not overstocked with articles of luxury, nor anything too comfortable. Parish (1824) says: "The floors were of brick or tiles, the rafters of the roof seldom hid by ceiling, and the walls as cold as whitewash could make them; the furniture generally of the most tawdry North American manufacture, and a few highly colored French prints serving to mark the extent

of the taste for fine arts in South America."¹ Several foreigners who visited or resided in Buenos Aires about this time complain that there was no fire in the houses and that in the cold weather they were most uncomfortable. Some of the streets were paved in the old fashion of rubble-stone pavement, and it is amusing to read that a certain Viceroy, towards the close of the Eighteenth century, excused himself for not having continued the pavement by explaining that paved streets were injurious to the houses as the jolting of the heavy carts shook them so much that they were in danger of falling. About these houses Parish said, "I was struck with the cheerful aspect of the houses." The sidewalks were very narrow, as may be seen in some of the old streets still, and to make them more inconvenient, as pedestrian thoroughfares, the houses had, generally, low thrust-out balconies which, when their occupants, as was customary then, leaned over them in restful mood, completely obstructed passenger traffic or turned it out on the street. The principal streets were lighted with oil lamps. The Porteños were very fond of flowers and cultivated them in great abundance and variety. Many writers allude to this pleasing characteristic of the Buenos Aires of the Revolutionary time. The city then lay along the river front between Retiro and Barracas and extended westward only as far as what is now Irigoyen and Pellegrini streets, these latter being really the suburbs.

As to the criollo Porteños, there were no Argentinos then, Lopez says: "The great multitude, the part that formed the people properly Argentine, was the criollos. Most of them had white skin and European blood, but the general form of the body and physiognomy was entirely different (from the European born residents); they had eyes lively and astute, looks full of alertness and penetration, critical and reserved at the same time, reckless inde-

¹ Parish, in this matter, must not be taken as quite correct, save in a general way. Pictures and descriptions of the interior of some of the patrician houses, and numerous articles of furniture, etc., of those days tell a very different tale.

pendence and an absolute want of servility of manner. . . . The limbs of the criollo were in general fine, they wanted in rugged development, but were very elastic and tempered as spring-steel, while those of the European tended to natural heaviness. The criollo had a delicate and flexible waist, unencumbered body, firmly molded shoulders, neck upright, well-cut features, fine mouth, shapely nose, head well rounded and usually small with light springy step." These were the common people, but he continues: "The well-to-do had much of their ways and they had much of the ways of the well-to-do."

"The difference of resources did not constitute a difference of class because there was no class which depended on some other for its food and dwelling. This was always a feature of Argentine life from Buenos Aires on to Mendoza and Salta. The common criollo family was always the proprietor of some land in the outskirts, an acre, at least, planted with peach trees which gave him fuel and whereon he raised plenty of poultry freely. So that if in the Argentine colony democratic habits of life prevailed, they were not those of the democracies of the plebeian, needy and half savage which huddled in the large cities, live from hand to mouth; but a proprietary democracy with hearth and home, with roof and board assured from father to son, and with no servile tasks, which was a relative happiness, but unfortunately impossible to continue when a people reaches the proper age of virility."

Parish says he was "struck with the independent air of the people." And Mr. Love wrote in 1825: "It is rarely we see in Buenos Aires a person marked with small pox, vaccination being generally practiced; and very few deformed people. Indeed the generality of them may be called handsome. The young men are well grown, possess good figures, and their manners render them truly agreeable." Mitre, in his "Life of Belgrano," speaking on this subject says: "A profound observer who studied the country in those times said of the criollos: "They have such an

idea of their equality, that I believe that, even when the king might confer the titles of nobles on any particular ones, nobody would consider them as such. The Viceroy, himself, could not procure a Spanish (pure blood criollo) coachman or lackey." *There was no shoneenism there!*

Samuel Haigh who visited the country in 1817 writes in his "Sketches": "The men of Buenos Aires are brave, liberal and disinterested, but are somewhat proud and arrogant; the latter qualities if not always excusable are at least easily accounted for, no republic in South America having contributed more to the destruction of Spanish dominion in the new world than their own. They have acquired the epithet of *pintor*, or boaster, amongst their neighbors (the Chilians), and they are rather disliked by them, but they are in general superior in talent and information to the inhabitants of any of the other republics, which may account for this animosity."

I may finish up these extracts by a little story Mitre tells in his "Life of San Martin." During the war of independence there was given a banquet in Columbia at which the hero of northern South America was the guest of honor. He, Bolivar, it appears was a very vain imperious man. The Minister of the Buenos Aires Government was present at the feast and happened to be seated opposite the great personage. The Argentine looked at him with such an interest as he might feel in looking at a fine picture or statue. Bolivar was piqued by the unawed demeanor of the Minister and asked, "Who are you?" "I'm the Minister of the Buenos Aires Government," replied the Argentine, carelessly. "I thought so," Bolivar rejoined, "by your proud air." The Argentine nonchalantly returned: "The proper air for a free man."

The descendants of the old Spanish colonists, the men who founded the Republic, the criollos of whom the previous paragraphs treat are largely outnumbered by the mass of foreigners and their children who have spread over the country since. But wherever you meet them you find the

old characteristics have stuck to them. They have still the good looks, good form, politeness, wit, intelligence and independence of manner of their ancestors. I have not known an Argentine of this stock, rich or poor, that was dull, mawkish, mean-spirited or slovenly. Their manners and customs have greatly influenced the manners and ways of the children and descendants of foreign settlers, and mostly for the better. The old criollo pride and care for the neatness of his person, according to his notions, show themselves in almost all natives of the country. I have often been amused for the care with which young men, employed in very ordinary labor work, would redress, comb their hair and brush their clothes, oftentimes poor enough clothes, too, when their day's work was over, even though they had no visits to make nor callers to receive. The foregoing, however, need not be taken as an attempt on my part to establish that Buenos Aires is the center of Paradise and all its people the children of perfection. The most it intends is to give a few opinions and experiences which may help anyone so inclined to form a fair idea of a great city and a great people at the most interesting period of their history.

I have not found any criticisms of the Argentine woman worth reproducing. Her sphere in the olden time seems to have been mostly in the home and attending to her charitable and religious duties. She took her stand, however, to good effect on the roof-tops of the city with her patriotic brothers, husbands and sons in the glorious Reconquest and Defense; and the public charities of Buenos Aires, than which there are none in the world more meritorious, have been in her hands for a hundred years. She is second to none in virtue and faithfulness, and in this stands immeasurably higher than her brother who is not usually a husband whose faithfulness can with justice be boasted of.

What to a stranger from Northern Europe or the United States seems outrageous rudeness on the part of the Argentinos is their habit of staring at young women

whom they meet on the streets. Sometimes to the extent of leaning into their faces or turning about and gazing after them. The girls do not seem to take this impertinence, not to use any harsher word, badly, and all ages and conditions of men seem to be alike in indulging the ugly and idiotic practice.

The leaders in the Revolutionary days would appear to have been almost all strictly religious men, at least in so far as church-going would indicate, and yet comparatively few men go to church nowadays. Boys attend church until they make their first communion, then almost suddenly avoid the place as though it were, not alone of no purpose to go, but positively some serious danger to their well-being. Women of all ages attend their religious duties fairly well.

The Constitution of the Republic is pretty much on the order of that of the United States, the presidential term, however, being for six years, and the chief city of the nation being the Federal Capital. The population of the whole country at the time of its independence was about three-quarters of a million, it has increased some twelvefold since then.

Having now sufficiently touched on the discovery, settlement, geography, history and natural resources of the region that has become the Republic of Argentina, to give the reader a general idea of the country and its people, the pages which follow will be devoted to telling about the coming into this land of the Irish, how in serving themselves they have served their adopted country, and as well as the memory of worthy deeds of war and peace have left a strain in the complex Argentine nationality that has given much of good health and energy to the whole body. The historic friendship which existed between the Spanish and Irish peoples was noticeable in many ways in all the Spanish colonies of America, and when these young peoples entered on a national career for themselves that old spirit of the motherland did not change, and in the first genera-

tions of this Republic no immigrants were so welcome to its shores as those who came from Ireland. The government, and leading public men, almost without exception, have always treated our people with great consideration and sympathy, and it can be said with all truth, and I say it with all pride, no foreigners in the land have ever given the government less trouble or have served it more loyally than the Irish, and, on the whole, there are no more patriotic Argentines in all this proud nation to-day than are their children and descendants.

THE IRISH IN ARGENTINA

CHAPTER I

FIELD AND HIS ADVENTURES—MEN OF IRISH NAMES—PRISONERS FROM COLONIA AND THE MALVINAS—DR. MICHAEL O’GORMAN—FIRST-COMERS—THE ENGLISH INVASIONS—IRISH COMMERCE—SHOOTING OF MACKENNA.

THE first Irishman who set foot on the shores of what is now Argentina did not come to “seek his fortune,” nor did he come in the search of adventure or scientific knowledge as was the case with many in the early days. His purpose was greatly more noble than any of these, for he came as the angels of heaven came long before to Bethlehem to announce glad tidings of great joy to multitudes of mankind whose lives were sad and without hope, and whose spiritual world was all darkness and fear. If Solis, Cabot and Mendoza, unlike Columbus in his first voyage of discovery, had no Irishmen in their hardy crews, then Thomas Fehily, or Field, of Limerick, was the first Irishman to tread on Argentine soil. In any case the records have no Irish name before this one of the Jesuit missionary. It may here be worth while remarking that the first European to reach America was an Irishman, Saint Brendan, who probably, like Field, was on missionary labor bent.

Field was one of five members of the Society of Jesus sent from Brazil, where the Jesuits then had a mission, to labor in the conversion of the tribes of the La Plata provinces. The history of the voyage and land journeyings

of these five men has as much adventure and wonder in it as may be found in most novels and romances.

In 1586, as stated by Dean Funes and Lozano, the latter himself a Jesuit, the Order came into the La Plata provinces from Peru. They were three priests, and established themselves in Tucuman. They were so effective in their good work that other members of the Order were sought by the Bishop of Tucuman, and in response to the prelate's appeal five priests were sent from Brazil in the following year, 1587. They were, as stated by Del Techo, also a Jesuit: Juan Saloni, Valenciano; Tomas Fields, Irlandes; Manuel Ortega, and Esteban Grao, Portugeses, and Leonardo Arminio, Italiano. I like to be precise in the nationality of these priests as some writers I have consulted give Father Field as a Scotchman. How this error originated I can only suppose, and this is my conjecture: Lozano, who wrote about the year 1740, speaks of Fields, as will be seen later on, as a British subject; at a later period Charlevoix calls him a Scot, perhaps following the Continental name under which the Irish were known, especially in the monasteries. Mulhall in his book, "The English in South America," follows Charlevoix, but that is not to be wondered at as he wrote his book, seemingly, to suit the English and the pro-English of Buenos Aires. I will have occasion to substantiate this statement as I proceed with this work. Others than Mulhall, however, who appear to have depended on Charlevoix for their information in this case, state that Field was a Scotchman, but Del Techo's version leaves no doubt as to the missionary's nationality.

That the name Fehily or Field does not appear in the native form of spelling is accounted for by the fact that all the non-Spanish Jesuits in the Spanish Missions had to Spanishize their names; thus we find Lozano writing the name *Fieldé* whilst others write it *Fild*. Del Techo, a Frenchman, writing in Paris, and from whom Lozano quotes frequently, spells it *Fields*.

The voyage of the five missionaries from Brazil to Buenos Aires was anything but prosperous, they having fallen into the hands of the pitiless English pirate, Cavendish, who seems to have treated them with great cruelty, as described by Lozano and other writers. I will give as an example of Mulhall's manner of writing history an extract from his work already mentioned. The "same year," he says at page 77, "that Cavendish made his first descent on Patagonia saw an expedition of a very different character, consisting of the first Jesuits sent to convert Paraguay, namely Father Thomas Field, a Scotchman, and Father Manual Ortega, a Portugese: their vessel fell into the hands of English privateers off the Brazilian coast, but the sea-rovers respected their captives, and after sundry adventures the latter landed at Buenos Aires." So far Mulhall; this is Lozano's account of the way the "sea-rovers respected them"; his book was published in 1745. Notice that the author always speaks of the English as pirates. The English ships were two in number and mounted cannon; the Portugese ship which bore the Jesuits was a merchant vessel. It was in the mouth of the River Plate and about the end of the year 1586 the encounter took place. After telling of being hailed and boarded, Lozano, V. 1, p. 24, goes on:

"As soon as the English took possession of the boat, although they did not ensanguine their swords in the seamen, nor in the other passengers, pardoning them liberally their lives, and treating them with humanity, they showed themselves out-of-the-way cruel against the defenceless Jesuits, and resolved to sacrifice them as victims to their inhuman fury, as much as on account of the state they professed as for the end that animated their designs, the propagation of the Catholic faith amongst the Gentiles and converting them to the fold of the Roman Church. Because the knife or the rope would give a more tolerable death than their natural hatred desired they determined to make it more long-drawn-out and painful, exposing them to the rigours of hunger, for which end they threw them on the island of Lobos, which is totally desert, and without anything to sustain life, after having

loaded them with injuries and insults, which were the only provisions with which they supplied them in their helplessness. But soon reflecting that some happy chance might enable them to evade the extreme risk of perishing, they determined at once to free themselves from this fear, returning them to the ship to hang them from a yard-arm. Desirous, before executing to find something with which to feed and even to satiate their greed they began to ransack whatever luggage the missionaries had, and finding many Agnus Deis, which, by the way, the Pope had blest, they let loose their sacrilegious tongues in horrid blasphemies against the supreme head of the Church, and burlesqued with unspeakable contempt the devotion of the Catholics. Nor did their heretic impiety stop here, but scattering them over the ship's deck commenced, one more daring than the rest of the ruffians, to outrage them with his vile feet. The spirited Ortega could no longer bear the outrage, but at such a sight roused in his zeal for the glory of God and for the reverence which is due to sacred things, he set to oppose by act and word the outrage, reprehending the impiety of the enemies of the faith, and without thinking of his own risk, caught the sacrilegious one by the foot, saying that he would not permit before his eyes such an irreligious insult, and he pushed him away from the holy relics. The pirate struggled with Father Ortega and trying with fury to continue his evil extricated himself from his hands; but as with the heat of the wine that had risen to his head, for he had drank overmuch, he could not keep on his feet but fell on the deck, and from a slight wound on the head was bleeding some.

"Here was the ire and madness of the perverse heretics who attacked wildly with impetuous anger. They gave him terrible blows and some gave him sword cuts, after which taking him in their arms they threw him into the water alive that it might be to him a sepulchre. After him they were about to throw the venerable Father Thomas Fildé, all the vile crowd shouting that he was unworthy of life being a subject of the British Queen, and despising the best of her laws, he not alone preferred the Catholic religion, by them forbidden, but had gone so far as to make himself a master of its dogmas amongst the Jesuits, her capital enemies. But they suspended so violent an execution for to couple him in death with Father Ortega, whom, it appearing to them too kindly the death he was about to suffer in the waves, rescued him resolving to give to him as to the other four some kind of a death more cruel, by the steel files. It was this inconsistency in their resolutions that saved the prisoners whom Providence had reserved for greater works to his glory in all our province and in others;

for cooling with time the ardor of their furious hate they could advert to the chastisement which Heaven executed towards the impious heretic who had the hardihood to outrage with his feet the sacred relics, for at last, although as a wise moralist said, the Divine justice moves with slow steps to avenge, the delay is usually recompensed in the gravity of the punishment. That soulless heretic experienced in himself the truth of this sentence, for God having borne so long his heresies, his homicides, his robberies and other similar evildoings he had at length his merits in an awful chastisement. For in the same foot with which he trampled down the Agnus Deus there burst out a sore which widening insensibly and spreading its poison little by little over all his body it caused him such excruciating pains that notwithstanding the amputation of the foot as a remedy against the evil it killed him in inside of twenty-four hours, and in the midst of torments and cries his unhappy soul was precipitated to the abysses."

I have followed as closely as possible the Spanish original, written some 175 years ago, which will account for any seeming peculiarities of composition or punctuation. And whatever may be thought of the old clergymen's conclusions, there will, I believe, be no second opinion as to the manner in which the "sea-rovers respected their captives." Field and his companions had many adventures and delays in their land journey. Buenos Aires City was then but a collection of a few dozen houses built around the fortress and inside a deep fosse. It was in its seventh year of existence at the time. The journey inland was started by the Parana, where the missionaries had some new troubles and difficulties. They met accidentally the Bishop of Paraguay, escaping from the fury of his flock, somewhere in the lower Parana. At first the fathers went to Cordoba and after a short while there separated. Field and Ortega, the latter being Superior, going to Paraguay. This Irish priest seems to have been a man of great piety and humility, of most exemplary habits, extraordinary perseverance, and one who had great success in his labor. It is told of him that even in the hottest seasons, through all his day and night toils, in that land where the most

'delicious fruits are in abundance, he constantly denied himself the pleasure of their use. He lived to be very old, and in his labors amongst the tribes of La Guira, Upper Paraguay, was so far separated from his brother Jesuits that oftentimes his existence was forgotten for long periods. He died in 1625 and must have been considerably over eighty years of age. Del Techo in his history of the Jesuits reports his death as follows:

“ In Asuncion died Father Thomas Fields, one of the first Jesuits who went to Paraguay. He was born in Limerick, a city of Ireland, his father was a Catholic doctor. Being a youth, to avoid the dangers of heresy and to devote himself to the studies, he went to Belgium and soon after to Rome where he was admitted to the Society by Father Everard Mercurian. Before his novitiate was finished he was sent to Brazil. From Rome he went on foot to Lisbon begging his way. In Brazil he accompanied Father José Auchieta and witnessed the miracles of this latter. When on the voyage to Tucuman he was made prisoner by the English corsairs in the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, and suffered the insults which in their place we narrated. I will add that the pirates, amongst whom were some Irish, treated him worse than the other Jesuits, for they said that with his pro-religiousness and his zeal to propagate Catholicism, he was a dishonor to his nation, and they went near killing him. He was saved by the mercy of the Lord and was in Tucuman and Paraguay where he baptized many thousands of Gentiles, and effected what we already know” —that is, the many great works of the mission as told in earlier chapters of the work.

The story of the conversion of the Paraguayan Indians by the Jesuits is an exceedingly interesting one. These Indians had a tradition that a holy man once preached Christianity to their remote ancestors, and the old Jesuit writers would seem to have believed that this apostle was Saint Thomas. The Mexican Indians had a similar tradition when the Spaniards first went amongst them, and many believe that this white man who told them (the Mexicans) about the truths of Christianity, and who, they said, went eastward, promising to return again, was Saint Brendan

the Voyager, or some of his fellow-discoverers of the New World. It is strange if he could have reached Paraguay, and stranger still if Saint Thomas could have got there. What a pleasant and useful subject it would be for someone, who has time and means for such things, to inquire into! The Indians say that this good man past from La Guira westward, and there is a road through Bolivia which they call after him. In Asuncion there is a rock on which is what appears to be the print of man's feet and here is where they say "Pay Zume" stood while preaching to the people. In Bolivia and Peru there were more or less similar traditions. The Jesuits found a peculiar reverence amongst the Indians for the Cross, and Prescott tells that the Spaniards who went to Mexico with Cortes often met with evidences of the same feelings amongst the aborigines of that country.

It is mentioned in the "Memorias de Vertiz" that Torres Vera was Adelantado, a sort of temporary Viceroy, in 1588, and that in dividing the Indians and their lands in Corrientes he gave lots to, amongst others, Rafael Farel and Diego (James) Gorden. No doubt both adventurers were Spanish subjects, but quite likely of Irish birth or parentage, the names surely point to such an origin. If Irish they run Field pretty closely for the honor of being the first of our nation to establish themselves in the Plate country. The Mulhalls, who were very fond of making a kind of jokes about the Irish origin of many Argentine names, had it that the common Argentine name, Varella, was only a Spanishized form of Farrell; their humor in this case may have been an exemplification, in a way, of the truth of the saying that many a truth is told in jest. It was easy at the time under notice for Irishmen to become Spanish citizens or subjects. The Irish princes and chieftains were in a deadly struggle with Spain's enemy, England, and the closest possible alliance was aimed at and hoped for in both countries, but especially in Ireland. Alas, as much almost for Spain as for Ireland, that it

failed to come about! Had it been effected and sufficient assistance given to Ireland to establish and maintain for a few generations her independence her horrible martyrdom for the last three hundred years would have been avoided, the English dominions to-day would be, probably, no more than the Dutch or Danish ones, and Spain would be one of the first nations of the world! And now I jump from the date of Field's death, in 1625, to the defeat of the English under MacNamara at Colonia in 1763. During the interval no doubt some Irish found their way to the La Plata provinces of Spain, but they came as priests in the Jesuit, Franciscan or Dominican Orders, or as soldiers or other officials of the Spanish Government. Thus we meet such names as Porcell, Ennis, Machony, Smith, amongst the missionaries and Murphy, O'Hara, Corr, O'Donel in military or other official capacities.

The Portugese established in the early days of La Plata colonization a settlement on the right bank of the great river at a point which they called Colonia du Sacramento. The place is now known as Colonia, and is an important city of the Republic of Uruguay. The Spaniards claimed all that territory by right of discovery. They in due time expelled the Portugese from this new settlement and were in turn expelled by the Portugese. It was in an expedition with the alleged purpose of restoring Colonia to the Portugese that the MacNamara squadron entered the Plate in the year 1762, month of December. The Spaniards of Buenos Aires went to the assistance of their brothers across the river and inflicted a crushing defeat on the English. McNamara lost his life, as already mentioned, but the battle only interests me here because amongst the prisoners taken were many men of Irish names, who were sent to the interior, chiefly to Mendoza and Cordoba. The Mulhalls mention many prominent Argentines of their time who were descended from these prisoners, but their books have a number of inaccuracies and I do not think they took very much pains to find out to what extent descendants of these

men could be found in Cordoba and Mendoza when they wrote.

After the battle of Egmont, Malvina Islands, a treaty was entered into by which the prisoners taken there and at Colonia were given up to England. It is certain, however, that some of them preferred to remain in their new homes, for Mitre in his "Life of San Martin," V. 1, p. 439, gives the names of several families in Mendoza in 1815, descended from these prisoners. English prisoners taken in the invasion of 1806 were also held there until the treaty made with Whitelocke in the year following, and not unlikely some of these captives, also, became settlers in the new land where they were so kindly treated.

Mitre writing of San Martin's efforts as Governor of Cuyo to raise an army for the invasion and liberation of Chili and Peru, says: "He stimulated the neutral strangers to enlist, and the English residents were the first to respond to this call. They sought to form, at their own cost, a free company of light troops (casadores) with the right to name their own officers, declaring that, 'grateful for the good hospitality and full of enthusiasm for the rights of man, they could not see with indifference the risks that threatened the country, and they were ready to take up arms and shed their last drop of blood, if it were necessary, in its defence.'" He goes on: "It is curious to record the names of the English residents in Mendoza at that time, who signed the representation, some of whom have left descendants in the Argentine Republic and in Chili. Here they are: Samuel Chonk, Robert Barron, Juan Mass, Santiago de Lindsay, Juan Makechen, Jorge Crafourd, John Heffermon, William McGregor, Daniel Ferguson, W. Malahan, B. Tuckerman, Thomas Knight, Samuel Enocoser (sic), Timote Linch, Hector McNeil, Thomas Martin, John P. Miller, Thomas Bradshaw, William Holmes, John Fleming, Edward Laford, James Mermon, Robert Smith, Jorge Row, Samuel Puch, Samuel Wise, Jorge Gillespie, John Trast, Juan Brown, John Brown (other), William Forbes,

Juan Young, Thomas Appleby, Juan Hefferson, Thomas Hoghes, Samuel Knowles, Juan Rodriguez, Pedro Ayers, Guillermo Hely, Pedro Smith, Jorge Milhan, Juan Humphrey, Juan Ameres, José Androsfh, Guillermo Carr, Daniel MacEchan, Jorge Collins, Roberto Johnston, Jacob Brownsen, Julian Malahan, Juan Bautista MacEachen, Thomas Hoghes Benitez, Manuel M. Gockes, Santiago Fernandez.”

It will be seen that among these names which Mitre calls English (ingleses), there are many Irish and Scotch. It is clear that many of them are badly spelt. For instance, Heffermon is surely, if spelt properly, Heffernan; Malahan is probably Manahan. Hefferson is almost exactly the way Jefferson would be pronounced in Spanish. Hoghes must be Hughes; MacEchen and MacEachan are likely to be brothers and probably MacGeoghegans. This latter name, as we now spell it, is to a Spaniard almost impossible of pronunciation. The Christian names such as Bautista, Manuel, Jorge, etc., would suggest that some of these “English” were born in Mendoza, and so must have been sons of men captured in Colonia or at the Malvinas, fifty and forty years previous to the date at which they figure in Mitre’s book. The reference to the hospitality with which they were treated, and the wish to have their own officers, men whom they could understand, would be evidence that they were not long in the country, and would suggest that a majority of them arrived in the time of the Beresford attack on Buenos Aires. Be all this as it may, there is one thing quite clear, and that one thing is, that from 1763 there were some dozens of Irish-born men in the provinces of Mendoza and Cordoba. A few men who have risen to prominence in the Republic are, it is said, traceable to these prisoners, but the bulk of their descendants have so mingled with the native stock of the country that even their names are scarcely discernible now. They cannot, of course, be considered as of the Irish colony in the sense that the Irish immigrants and their descendants are,

but no record of our people here could have any just claim to a reasonable degree of completeness and ignore them altogether.

Fifteen years after MacNamara's defeat off Colonia, and eight years after the capture of the English forces in the battle of Egmont, Malvina Islands, June 10, 1770, another Irish name comes into great prominence in the records of Buenos Aires. This remarkable man does not come as a missionary, a pirate, a prisoner or an immigrant, but as a man of rare learning and scientific skill, with a great and important work to perform, and with the Spanish King's full confidence that he will perform it well. This man was Dr. Michael O'Gorman, chief physician of the famous expedition which brought Buenos Aires its first Viceroy, General Ceballos.

Gutierrez in his Argentine History says: "Dr. Michael O'Gorman is considered by some people as the founder of the Medical School of Buenos Aires, and he was the first Protomedicato the country had." Vertiz, who was Governor of Buenos Aires at the time the expedition with the Viceroy arrived, and who became the second Viceroy of La Plata, writes of O'Gorman: "He was ordered to remain in La Plata to regulate the hospitals and economize their costs." On December 3, 1778, Don José Galves, one of the ministers of government wrote of the Protomedicato: "By agreement of your honor and that of the Viceroy this subject has remained here for the present for the arrangement of the hospitals and to correct the abuses notorious up to now in the professors of medicine and surgery. His Majesty approves that it may so be effected, and desires, for this reason, you regulate and contribute any help of costs for this work and while he remains charged with this commission." A royal order of September 18, 1779, creates him Protomedicato and Professor of Medicine in the new Academy of Medicine. This establishment seems not to have been opened until the following year. In those days it took a long time to get from Spain to the Plate, and we

can well imagine from the irregularity with which ships sailed, the slowness of the rate of speed, and the time it would take, even at the present day, to get buildings and other preparations in order, that some months should pass before the founding ceremony could take place; anyhow, it was in 1780 the institution was first opened. At the opening O'Gorman delivered a notable speech, in Latin—perhaps he did not know Spanish sufficiently well to meet the requirements of the occasion. From that on he became prominent in the life of Buenos Aires, and we shall meet him again as we go along. After some years he seems to have separated from the actual military service and to have become a sort of director of medical and sanitary affairs in general. It will be worth noticing that just at the time O'Gorman came, 1778, Vertiz had a census made of the city and of the province, as far as Spanish colonization extended, which census gave the following result, within the city: 15,719 Spaniards, 544 Indians, 674 Mestizos (bred from Spanish father and Indian mother), 3153 Mulattos (bred from negro and white parents) and 4115 negroes, mostly slaves. Thus the city had some 24,000 inhabitants. The province, or country outside, under Spanish sway, was comprised within a line which might be drawn from the seashore across to Chascomus, by Monte, to Lujan, to San Antonio de Areco, thence to within a few leagues of the Parana, and northward, at this distance from the river, to include San Nicolas. The Fortin, now Carmen de Areco, Salto, Rojas and Pergamino were known, as also Melincue, but only as military posts on the road to Cordoba, and even as such were not always able to keep the wild men in check. All this district was given in the census aforesaid as having a population of 13,000; making a total for city and country districts of some 37,000. It will be noticed that there are no foreigners included, although there must have been some in the city at the time as the English had their slave market and slave dealers at Retiro at this time. I suppose, however, they were not regarded as of the popu-

lation, which under the circumstances was a correct view to take of them, for they were there as an unwelcome garrison, a mere agency of this English traffic, or as they and their friends were probably calling it at the time: "Free institution of civilization and evangelism." Apart from such as these it is quite certain that other foreigners in the city had become Spanish subjects before leaving the Peninsula. There were French, Italian and Irish born people in the city at the time, as for instance, the fathers of Belgrano and Pueyrredon were Italian and French respectively. The mother of the latter, Rita Dogan, being the daughter of an Irishman.

About the year 1798 an English ship was wrecked on the shores of Patagonia, amongst the crew were some Irish. The half-civilized Indians into whose hands the unkindly elements had thrown the survivors of the wreck in due time delivered them up to the Spanish authorities and they found their way to Buenos Aires. Some writers have pointed out that because they were Catholics the authorities treated them humanely, which would suggest that were they other than Catholics things might have gone rather bad with them. English and pro-English writers never fail to emphasize this point, and in doing so are not alone unfair but most ungrateful. Anyone who will read the story of the sackings and burnings of the Spanish-American ports and cities for centuries by the English and consider how Beresford's and Whitelocke's men, not to go back to earlier epochs, were treated by the victors here in Buenos Aires, will understand how far from the truth, and how unscrupulously malicious the suggestion is. One of the wrecked navigators was Thomas Craig, then about twenty years of age, he remained in Buenos Aires and did his part in recovering the city from the English in 1806; he was also in the defense against Whitelocke, a year later, and attained to some rank in the patriot army. He married later on a Miss Donovan and lived to be a very old man, 84 years, dying in 1863. He used to tell how he, the ship's carpenter

and two other sailors escaped to an island whereon, from wreckage and other materials, they formed a raft which floated them successfully to the main land. They were then but two, however, the other sailor having died on the island. At Buenos Aires they were kept for some time in confinement, but long before the English invasion he and his comrade were free men. As well as helping to repel the invaders he served with distinction under his fellow-Mayoman, Brown, against Spain and Brazil. He had the title of Captain and a pension in accordance with that rank from the Argentine Government. For many years before his death he was the foreign-born citizen of longest residence in the city. From about the time of Craig's coming we begin to find Irish names with increasing frequency in the various registers, rolls and notices which go to make up the political, military and social records of the rapidly rising city. Craig and his comrade, whose name I have not been able to get, although coming to Buenos Aires by mere accident, may be considered the first Irishmen who settled in the country to make a living by the work of their hands.

Just at this time, 1800, the name of another O'Gorman meets us, whose family was destined to fill no small place in the political and social life of the Argentine capital. This O'Gorman, Thomas by name, came from France and married a daughter of Madame Perichon, who like so many of her countrymen and countrywomen, was a political exile. O'Gorman seems to have been a man of affairs, for he soon established a considerable shipping business, mostly of a contraband nature. At this time the import and export trade of the country was to a great extent in the hands of smugglers, the custom authorities being either in league with the smugglers or utterly incapable of discharging the duties imposed upon them. Don Tomas made money fast, but his French connections could spend it at a much more rapid rate it would seem. He had a brother in London in commercial life, and on a certain occasion he dispatched a couple of ships laden with raw products to this brother,

following them himself in a faster vessel. On his arrival in England he got into great difficulties about the shipments and they were seized by the authorities. Delay and disappointment were weighing heavily upon him in London when the news came of his wife's unfaithfulness. He soon after retired to Spain where he became somewhat deranged and ended his days in poverty and alone. Mrs. O'Gorman's relations with Liniers, the hero of the Conquest and Defense, were the scandal of Buenos Aires for many a day and had not a little to do with the after unpopularity and downfall of the brave but unfortunate Frenchman. O'Gorman's house was at 77 calle Paz, now Reconquista, between Sarmiento and Corrientes—there was but one number to each house at the time. Mrs. O'Gorman's name was Ana and one of the many terms of opprobrium used against her for her misconduct with the Captain was that of "Ana Boleyn." Gutierrez has much to say on this subject.

In June, 1802, Maria Isabel Dogan, widow of A. del Rincon had a house advertised in the "Telegrafo Mercantil," first newspaper of Buenos Aires, for sale. In August of the same year Hugh Macoy has a notice in the same paper to the effect that he will sell out all his stock of woollens and hardware cheap, as he must return to Europe at once. In November, 1803, Dr. O'Gorman presided at a meeting of the Medical Academy and certified the fitness of various doctors to practice their professions, amongst them one Dr. David Reid. In the same year a sort of official directory of the city gives Don Justo Linch as Royal Accountant, Dr. Michael O'Gorman as Protomedicato and Captain Michael O'Rian as at the head of the Provincial Militia of the district of Maldonado. He had, in officers and men, one hundred under his command, and considering the place and the kind of people he had to keep in order, and not forgetting the time of his incumbency, I have no doubt Don Miguel had plenty to do for his one hundred men.

Patrick O'Gorman passed his general examination in San,

Carlos College in 1805. This young man must have been a son of the Protomedicato. In the same year the Protomedicato, himself, edited the instructions which the medical practitioners should follow in the operation of inoculating with vaccine, thus, as the chronicler relates, doing a great service to the country—*un gran servicio al pais*.

When the English invaded Buenos Aires in 1806 there were many Irishmen in their ranks—unwillingly a great many of them, perhaps the majority of them. At that time, and for some years before and after, it was the common usage with the English Government and military authorities to seize young Irishmen, against whom any charge, political or otherwise could be proved, and these same authorities had the deciding of when these charges were or were not proved, and condemn them to terms of service in either branch of the military forces. Thus numbers of young Irishmen were forced into the army and Navy, and particularly the latter, against their will. It was this practice by England of seizing Irishmen that was largely the cause of the war between England and the United States in 1812. The English claiming the right to overhaul American ships on the high seas and to carry away any of the crew or passengers born under the English flag, for she then, and for many years afterwards, where able to make her claim respected, held to the principle of, an English subject once, an English subject forever. Thus in the forces which invaded Buenos Aires in 1806 there were numbers of Irishmen who yearned for the opportunity to escape from a bondage so cruel and so hated. Beresford having taken the city with such ease, owing wholly to the cowardice of the Spanish Viceroy, Sobremonte, who ran away with the best of the army to Cordoba, hardly waiting for the first shot to be fired, believed, true Englishman-like, that the people of Buenos Aires were really glad of his coming to be their master; and, no doubt, there were some of a sufficiently slavish or traitorous breed to give him, by their sycophantic adulations and their readiness to fawn

on him and his officers, some reason for this belief, and to lead him to think that he was popular with the people. Englishmen, in general, feel that they are very superior beings, and that all the world ought to like and admire them, but when they find out their mistake, and that the opposite to what they believed is the real fact, they blame this on the "treachery" and "deceit" of the people whom they so snobbishly misjudged. Beresford was a perfect type of the Englishman who feels and acts thus, and, of course, as tricky and wanting in honor as Englishmen in similar position have always shown themselves. The unsoldierly manner in which he obtained a favor from Liniers and then used this favor for his own good against the generous Frenchman, as well as the dishonorable manner of his flight to Montevideo, reminds one of countless similar episodes in the history of England's conquests, especially in Ireland. Having established himself in Buenos Aires he gave orders to his men to mix freely with the citizens of the seized city. This mixing, he felt, would enable the Spaniards, all the inhabitants of the place were, by foreigners, called Spaniards then, to see of what a superior order the English were. He and his officers mingled in very friendly fashion with the society element, and he lost no time in introducing Freemasonry, establishing a lodge at once, some of the members of which, Peña, Padilla and Lima, soon afterwards betrayed their country to him, and were paid the price of their treachery by the English Government in life pensions.

During these days of enjoyment and success for the English, two things were happening, which when they came to the notice of the victors, put a sudden stop to the enjoyment and began to make the success look anything but hopeful of permanency. The "Spaniards" inside and outside the city were busy organizing for its recapture and the expulsion from their country of the so-much-to-be-admired and beloved superior personages who had vouchsafed to come amongst them. A good many of their own English

soldiers were having their throats cut in the taverns and lanes of the town by patriotic criollos of the less formal and distinguished order of society, while a larger number still, made up of their Irish bondsmen were escaping to the outskirts of the city, and in many cases joining the forces that were being organized for the reconquest. Amongst these latter was one, Michael Skennon, who joining the patriots under Pueyrredon fought, and was made prisoner, in the first battle of the Reconquest. Perdriel where this battle was fought is not far from what is now La Paternal Railroad Station.

Beresford hearing of the preparations marched out from the Fort on the night of the 31st of July. On the following morning he came in contact with Pueyrredon's men and the battle was at once commenced. The English were gaining in a frontal attack; Pueyrredon charged them on the flank with his raw cavalry and while staggering the column for a moment narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy, his horse having been killed under him. Skennon had charge of a cannon and although his comrades had fallen back, whether under orders or in panic is uncertain, he remained firing on the enemy, utterly reckless of the consequences. The gun was rushed, he fell prisoner, and strapped on a gun carriage he was taken into the city and shot in front of the fort. His execution must have taken place about where the statue of Belgrano now stands.

Mitre, who tells the story in his "Life of Belgrano," seems to think it was a great concession on the part of Beresford that he allowed him to be attended in his last moments by a minister of his own religion, and indeed, this, too, in the face of the fact that his proclamation of religious liberty was posted up all over the city a few days previously. He adds: "He fought for his Catholic faith against the heretic English side by side with the Argentines." Mitre was, I believe, only about twenty years of age when he wrote this, his knowledge of world politics at the time could not have been very great, and he need not be too

hardly judged for the view he takes of Skennon's purpose. It is a very erroneous view, however, as will be seen presently. If Skennon and his fellows did not hate the English and grasp the first opportunity to escape from the captivity in which they were held, and do what in their power lay to assure their new freedom by the destruction of their cruel captors, they would be less than human. The many thousands of Irishmen who fought with all the strength of their bodies and all the fervor of their souls side by side with their non-Catholic comrades under Washington against England were not fighting for their Catholic faith against the heretic, but for human freedom and against the enemy of their native country and of the country in which they were fighting. Skennon was comforted in his last moments by the ministrations of the Bishop of Buenos Aires, possibly because the English would allow no less a dignitary of the Church within their lines, or it may be that he understood English, and was on this account the most capable to perform the solemn duties of the occasion. Skennon is probably the first non-Spanish foreigner who fell in defense of the liberty of Buenos Aires. He ought to have some public commemoration, if it were only the calling of a street after him, especially so since we see public places called after Garibaldi who actually fought against the country.

Several comrades of Skennon took part in the Reconquest, or at least joined the Argentines. So strong was this movement among the Irish soldiers and sailors that when discovered Beresford at once issued an order forbidding the Irishmen in his forces to leave barracks. But the order came a little late, for already a goodly number had effected their escape, and were under the protection of the Spanish authorities. This is the date of the first considerable influx of Irish into the citizenship of Buenos Aires; but as there were no Irish women then in the country it is fairly certain that but few of them married. The stirring times of the second invasion which took place a year later, and the Revolution with its many years of warfare which soon after

followed these exciting events attracted many of the refugees, so that few of them founded families and it is not easy to-day to meet with anyone who will trace his origin to those of our race who came thus strangely, but honorably, to Argentina's hospitable shores.

Before proceeding to consider the effect the second English invasion, in 1807, had upon Irish colonization in Buenos Aires, it is worthy of mention that Charles O'Donnell commenced in this year giving military instructions in Cordoba. This Don Carlos will be heard from again in the educational line.

But eleven months had gone by from the Reconquest when another attempt, and one that proved more disastrous than the previous one, was made by England to seize Buenos Aires and thus possess herself of Spain's La Plata provinces. Some historians, for reasons difficult to understand, if wholly free from mercenary motives, try to popularize the belief that England had no purpose in her two last attempts to seize Buenos Aires, save those of friendliness towards the Spanish colonists and the opening up of the country to the trade of the world. But this proposition does not look so well when inquiry is made into trade relations and conditions in the Plata ports in those days, and when it is seen that the English General, Whitelocke, gets the enormous salary of twelve thousand pounds a year and the high sounding title of Governor General of South America. It will not be amiss here to mention that it was for purposes of trade and the "opening up of the country" that England went first to India, she is there still, and we have been hearing ever since her getting in there of periodical famines and shootings of patriotic Indians. No doubt there can be got Indians who will write that her coming to their country was a great blessing to it! "Trade" is a handy imperialistic or piratical term, if you succeed it matters little under what name, if you fail, well it was only a bit of a business matter, anyhow.

In this second expedition there were many officers and

men of Irish birth. One whole regiment was purely Irish, the 88th—Connaught Rangers. The English commanders must have had deep fears of the loyalty of these men, and must have felt that most of them were, or ought to have been Skennons, for they sent the unfortunate fellows into the conflict with rifles and ammunition, but refused them the flints wherewith to fire the pieces. Even the flag of the regiment was held at headquarters instead of being unfurled above the front rank. Duff, the regiment's first officer, said he left it in the rear, feeling beforehand what was going to happen. The men were formed in two columns, the one under Col. Duff, the other under Vandeleur; the first marched down what is now Bartolome Mitre, the other taking calle Sarmiento for its route. Duff lost half his men before he reached San Miguel church, where there was a strong barricade; he tried to break into this church but failed and took refuge with his men in a house close by, and surrendered. Vandeleur's section got on some seven hundred and fifty yards further and were reduced to a little over two hundred when they surrendered. Many of the wounded were taken care of, most kindly, by the householders along the streets where they fell, and no doubt the fact of their being Catholics and countrymen of Skennon and his fellow refugees of the previous year militated a good deal in their favor. When the count of killed, wounded and missing was made there were two hundred and eight under the latter heading, and I think we may safely conclude that a large majority of these, if not all, were Irishmen. So that there must have been a considerable number of our countrymen in the city when the Revolution of May was accomplished.

In 1810 we begin to find advertisements and business notices in the newspaper, the only one then in Buenos Aires, "Correo de Comercio" (Commercial Post). Here is one such advertisement that I believe will be interesting in two ways; it is published on the 7th of April, 1810, and is to the effect that Marcos Riley, Captain of a Spanish ship,

sailed from Buenos Aires with a mixed cargo in which were five bales of wool. So that there was something of a wool business being done in 1810 and a man with a Spanish-Irish name was a party to it. Dr. O'Gorman figures again in the public eye this year. He writes a very encouraging letter to the Protector of the Public Library, and in terms which show him to be a man of the most enlightened ideas; he also contributes a donation of very important and valuable books to the institution. An advertisement in the "Correo" for December 15th, says he, the Doctor has an American coach of luxury for sale, and that he lives in Santo Domingo Street, now Belgrano, three and a half squares out.

A couple of advertisements met with in the "Correo" about this time, although in no way relating to the subject of this book, will be worth quoting as throwing a little ray of light on an almost forgotten phase of Buenos Aires social life in the dying days of the old regime and first dawn of the new era. November 7th, 1810: "Señor Juan de Lafranca sells two negro women, one of them with a baby, in 380 pesos, free of conveyance, and the other, without certificate, for 300 pesos. The one with the baby will be about twenty-six years of age, and the other about twenty years of age. Whoever may want to buy them can call on their owner, the aforesaid Lafranca; he lives in Torres St., in front of the drug store, behind San Miguel." In another issue of the same paper a widow Funes offers for sale a "servant maid of twenty years of age, with milk."

Advertisements like these, and of and for wet nurses were very common in this old paper.

As there was always, from the remotest times, a considerable trade between Spain and the West and South of Ireland it is natural to suppose that this intercourse extended to the Spanish-American countries. As a matter of fact ships came and went between Irish ports and those of Spanish-America quite commonly in the latter decades of the 18th century, and the "Exile from Mayo," at an earlier

date still, laments "on the deck of Patrick Lynch's boat" to have to be going to "leave his bones in Santa Cruz far from his own Mayo." Irish commerce was then, however, more with Mexico and the West Indies than with the lower South American ports. But Munster and Connact harbors were not the only ones from which Irish trading ships sailed to the countries of the romantic Spanish Main. On the fateful and glorious day on which the people of Buenos Aires broke forever with Spanish rule, May 25th, 1810, a ship "La Esperanza," commanded by Captain John Stewart, sailed from Belfast, arriving at Buenos Aires on August 27th of the same year, with, according to the "Correo de Comercio," the following items in its cargo: Cotton goods, delph-ware, a piano, a monochord, five boxes of hats, five boxes of cotton-britains, five boxes of cotton-linen, one hundred and twelve pipes of alcohol, a box of saddles, a coach, seven boxes of articles for private use, one box do., two boxes of thread, one box of linen thread, one leather pouch, thirty tons of coal, fourteen tons of iron, one ton of iron hoops, nine-and-a-half tons of iron pots; all consigned to Miguel Antonio Saenz. The saladera business had already been in progress and Robert Staples started in the business on his own account in September of this year at the Ensenada of Barrigan.

When the General Congress met, May 22, 1810, to decide whether or not they should depose the Spanish Viceroy, Cisneros, one of the members was Don Justo Pastor Linch, Administrator of the Royal Customs, and he voted not to wholly depose the Viceroy.

Next year there is a new newspaper, "La Gazeta," and here are a couple of interesting items from it, although they are somewhat outside my range: Under date of September 14, John MacKenna signs in Chili the document which was, practically, the declaration of independence of that country. Writing from Lima under date of October 3, 1811, Brigadier Fleming speaks thus of England's double-dealing: "It would, therefore, be an absolute contradiction

to sustain with one hand the interests of Spain in Europe and destroy them with the other hand in America, thus reducing her power and strength to fight the common enemy" (France). Fleming strengthens his argument as to English duplicity by explaining that he knows the English so well for being an "individuo britanico," a British subject, of course, an Irishman. How wisely he wrote will be proved by a study of England's diplomatic dealings with the Argentine patriots. In the early days of the Revolution she gave them much unofficial encouragement and word-of-mouth sympathy until she had obtained from them for her "services" free trade with the Plate ports. In due time Spain's star seemed to be rising and that of Argentina none too bright; at once England's policy was fixed to suit the circumstances and Spain was promptly informed that if she confirmed England's trade privileges now established in the Plate, she, England, would bind herself not to supply the patriots with any more war materials. Strangford, who pretended to be very friendly with the Revolutionaries, while the trade arrangements were being worked up, was then England's representative at Rio de Janeiro, where the patriots had also a representative, but a change of policy being now necessary, a change of ministers was the easiest way of saving appearances. Strangford was recalled, and the new minister, Chamberlain, came with orders not to "disturb the operations of His Catholic Majesty's troops against his rebellious vassals." Garcia, the agent of the Buenos Aires patriots in Rio at the time, wrote them: "But let me repeat for the thousandth time the independence of America is not Great Britain's wish" (Lopez, V. 6, p. 159). This may seem something of a digression from the path I have proposed to lead my readers along, but will be found to be interesting and useful as showing how correctly Fleming judged, and also on what unsound bases the fabric of "English assistance" in the founding of South American independence is built up. Writers, English and Argentine, have gone suspiciously out

of their way to make it appear that England was the great friend of the patriot cause in Argentina, while the opposite is really the truth. Thus that Irish-Argentines may not be misled by such writers I shall have to touch on matters of this kind once in a while.

May, 1812, the "Gazeta" reports Mrs. Mariana and Mrs. Catalina Lynch as receiving grants from the authorities of Buenos Aires. There must have been a great demand for iron pots in the country in revolutionary days, for in May of this year I find that the "Zephir" arrived from Belfast with 688 of them; she had also ten tons of coal, three boxes of barrel-staves, two carts and two barrels of wine. In this same month Patrick Lynch dispatched an American schooner, George T. Mackey, captain, with a general cargo. Don Patricio would seem to be some way specially connected with the United States, and one of the principal Lynch families of this country, at the present time, claim to be of Irish-American descent. There were probably two Lynch families then in Buenos Aires, one Irish-Spanish and the other Irish-American, or Irish-Mexican;¹ there was also Timote Lynch, the son of the prisoner of war, in Mendoza. In this same month and year there is a list of subscribers to a patriotic fund in which the name of Benito Lynch figures for four dollars.

There must at this time have been a large agriculture and milling industry carried on in the vicinity of the capital, for I find that both flour and wheat were being exported. Patrick Lynch figures in June as receiving an American ship from Philadelphia with goods consigned to him. A couple of months later the "Favourite," under command of Capt. Everard arrived from Dublin, but her cargo is not specified.

The Provisional Government issued a decree in Septem-

¹ Lavelle's song, "The Exile from Mayo," written about the middle of the 18th century, laments the fate of its subject, who is sailing "on the deck of Patrick Lynch's boat" from Mayo to leave his bones in Santa Cruz. Possibly the same Lynch; they are in the same business, anyhow.

ber, 1812, allowing strangers to sell consignments wholesale, and to attend to the discharge and embarkment of cargoes. From this it can be seen that Patrick Lynch was a native of the country, as he was already long in that business, and the naturalized citizens, Winton and Miller, in these transactions are always termed "citizen," but no such qualifying epithet is attached to Don Patricio's name. The saladera established by Staples two years before was advertised for sale by Staples and MacNeile. MacNeile was a Scotchman, the saladera was in Ensenada. In a list of patriotic subscribers from Cordoba published in the "Gazeta" there is no more Irish looking name than Escot; most likely the son of some one of MacNamara's men whose name was Scott, but whether Irish, Scotch or English does not appear. Amongst the numerous promotions in the national army, gazetted in December, 1813, is the name of Francis Lynch to the grade of 2nd lieutenant. In a list of contributors to a fund for the maintenance of the widows and orphans resulting from the battle of Salta are to be found the following names: MacNeile, MacFarlane, MacPhial, Darby, MacInnon, Dillon and Brown. They were merchants of Buenos Aires, and I believe, with the exception of Dillon, all Scotch. At that time the Scotch were the most prominent business men in the city. There is another interesting list of subscribers published this year, that of contributors of horses to the national army. It includes, probably, all the stock-raisers within convenient reach of the capital, but there is no Irish name on it, nor, indeed, any other non-Spanish name, from which it would seem that no outlanders had established themselves as yet beyond the city limits.

With the recording of a most lamentable tragedy I will close this chapter. MacKenna, the Chilian patriot, came on a mission from his country to the Buenos Aires Government. The ill-starred Carrera family of that country had some quarrel with him previous to his leaving on said mission, as they had with O'Higgins and many of the other

leaders. After the defeat at Rancagua the brothers fled from Chili, and while in Buenos Aires, one of the younger of them renewed the old controversy with MacKenna and in a duel shot the brilliant Irish-Chilian who had already made so honorable a name for himself. The three Carrera brothers were some years later executed in Mendoza for various acts of treason to Argentina. They were jealous, unscrupulous and vengeful, but their story is an extremely sad one.

CHAPTER II

BROWN

WILLIAM BROWN was, like Michael Davitt, the son of a Mayo peasant, and was born on June 22nd, 1777, at Foxford. Whether eviction drove him, like Davitt, from his native fields is not recorded, but his father took him to the United States when he was nine years of age, and some three years after America, at the end of eight years of a tremendous struggle, had established her independence. It is stated that Brown's father had a friend in Pennsylvania and that to this friend he made his way with his family, when he reached the American shore. Very soon after the arrival of the immigrants the friend died, from yellow fever, as did also the elder Brown. William was now an orphan, his people were in poor circumstances, and he, by this time, probably ten or eleven years old, took service on a coastwise trading ship as cabin boy, or as it meant on such craft, servant of all work to the skipper. He evidently had a bent for the sea and stuck to it from that on. He sailed to many parts of the world as the years went by, and while engaged on an English ship was made prisoner by the French, then at war with England. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Verdun, now being battered to ruins by the German cannon, from which he made his escape, but was rearrested and lodged in Metz, then a French stronghold. From this place, too, he contrived to effect his escape and succeeded in reaching Germany. The tale Mulhall tells about the Grand Duchess of Würtemberg, "who was an English princess," interesting herself in his adventures and befriending him and his comrade in misfortune so generously, is, for all I have been

able to find out on the matter, mere romancing. A couple of distressed and obscure fugitive sailors do not usually find Grand Duchesses so accessible and hospitable. But this was Mulhall's way. He never fails to avail himself of an opportunity to bring his countrymen under some obligation to their enemies, and to show the world what good, kindly people these enemies are, I am afraid he does not hesitate to indulge in a little imagination when the bare facts do not fit in as he wants them. He was, however, a personal acquaintance of Mrs. Brown and may have got some facts from her that others had not access to.

Brown made his first trip to the River Plate in the year 1809. Two years later he returned again to Buenos Aires. The La Plata provinces had rebelled against being governed from Spain, although they had not yet declared their independence of the mother country; so far they had only been fighting for what we have latterly come to know as home rule, nevertheless, it was war to the death between the Spanish forces and the insurgent colonists. Buenos Aires and the country inside to the extent, roughly speaking, of what is at present the Argentine Republic was in the power of the patriots, although on the western and northern frontiers, now Chili and Bolivia, respectively, the Royalists were in large force and quite confident of the reconquest of all the rebelled territory to the east and south, even to the city of Buenos Aires, which was the heart and soul and right arm of the revolutionary struggle. But although for hundreds of leagues landwards not a shred of Spanish authority remained, eastward, within sight of the fortress of Buenos Aires, Spanish warships rode defiantly on the yellow bosom of the great river. Montevideo was still a stronghold of Spain and was, as might be expected, being used as a base of operations against the armed colonists on the opposite bank of the river. Buenos Aires was blockaded and all sea-borne trade with the place forbidden. This was the condition Brown found himself face to face with when he arrived off Montevideo, in his ship "Eloisa"

in 1811. He had a valuable cargo which he knew would be doubly valuable if he once got it beyond the blockade lines. Sailing close to the south shore of the great estuary, with the hope of slipping by the not over vigilant blockaders, his ship went aground and became a wreck. He saved some of the cargo, getting it ashore with such little damage as permitted its sale, and with the aid of an American, one William P. White,¹ disposed of the goods to such advantage as enabled him to buy another ship, a schooner, which he called the "Industria." With this ship Brown and White sought to establish something in the nature of a coastwise trade; the Spaniards, however, seized the ship and the enterprise failed. This misfortune, seemingly so disastrous to Brown's business prospects, was the event which his indomitable grit made the deciding factor and happy chance of all his glorious career. He had great faith in himself, his courage was infinite, and he was possessed of great commonsense; but he had another little quality which on this occasion prompted him to the deed which was the "open Sesame" to fame for himself, and to what was to him of greater satisfaction still, of service beyond measure to the country of his adoption, and to the cause of human progress. This little quality it would not be just to call a desire for revenge, although something not far from it. But Brown's, as he many a time proved, was a nature utterly above any such unworthy feeling. He had, however, what I may call a passion for getting even with anyone who gave him the worst of the game, or for paying back an old score, which in the instance under consideration was rather a virtue than anything else.

The "Industria" was lost, but there were ways in which the loss might be indemnified, and it was Brown's purpose now to try these ways. In addition to the indemnity the

¹ White figured in the English invasion of Buenos Aires and was accused of giving valuable information to the invaders. He managed to clear himself of that charge somehow, and stood high at times with the patriots, but was on one occasion banished by them.



ADMIRAL WILLIAM BROWN
(Founder of the Argentine Navy)



enterprise might afford the satisfaction of getting square with the Spaniards who had caused him so much loss and disappointment. He, very likely in conjunction with White, searched the beach resorts and boat-slips along the shore from the Retiro to the Riachuelo and picked up a couple of dozen English-speaking sailors to whom he could explain his purpose and on whom he could safely rely. They were Irish, English, Scotch and American; with them he manned two little sail-boats, and in the guise of fishermen beat about until they had got within reach of a Spanish cruiser which had ventured too far away from the fleet. They immediately grappled with her, boarded her and brought her in triumph to Buenos Aires. In the light of present-day naval equipments, steam, armor-plate, high bulwarks, quick-firing guns and personnels of many hundreds of men to each ship, this seems an impossible feat. But Brown's time was that of the clumsy sail, the low wooden-walls, the slow and uncertain muzzle-loader, and crews of a few dozen men. Combatant ships once within grappling reach of each other, number and daring of the crews counted for everything.

Soon after this feat, which was the talk of all the city in a few hours, Brown was engaged by General Alvear, the then head of the Buenos Aires Government, and who was preparing an army and navy for the liberation of Montevideo and all Uruguay. The fleet which Brown was made commander of consisted of three corvettes, two brigs and seven or eight small river boats. Lopez, the Argentine historian, describes at this time, "the most glorious of South American mariners," as follows:

"The young Irishman, Don Guillermo Brown, counted 37 years when he took command of the little squadron with which Buenos Aires set out to dispute with Spain the dominion of the waters of the Rio de la Plata. His manner, tranquil and pleasing, his countenance cheerful and open, his air, his words, his habits, were exemplarily modest and gentle. He made no requests, nor was he alarmed at

the defects and imperfections of the armament with which he had to solve the supreme question of the moment. On the contrary he showed the plainest confidence in the result, we would almost say a childish confidence, if it were not that in the depths of that soul, apparently so placid, there burned the conviction that the gifts with which nature had endowed him would be sufficient to supply all deficiencies and enable him to triumph over the enemies he was about to engage" (Vol. 4, p. 416).

Brown received his appointment as Commodore in the middle of February, 1814, and on March 8th, following, he sailed out from Buenos Aires to his first battle with the Spaniards. The island of Martin Garcia which commanded the entrance to the great waterways, the Parana and the Uruguay, and which was strongly defended by the Spanish fleet and a formidable system of fortifications, was his objective. On March 10 he was reinforced to some extent, and next day attacked the Spanish position. He was unfortunate in this attempt. His pilot falling a victim to one of the first shots of the Spaniards, his boat ran aground within range of the enemies' guns. He was mercilessly cannonaded by the opposing fleet, while the other ships of his command having suffered some loss withdrew to safety. Next morning, owing to a favorable wind or a chance rising in the river tide, his boat was released from her embarrassment and he got to Colonia where he hastily repaired her by staunching her battered timbers, and refilled, from the material at hand in that port, the many vacancies the Spanish cannon had made in his crew. On March 17, St. Patrick's Day, he resumed the combat, landing a party of his men in the teeth of a vigorous fire from the shore guns, and captured the island. One of his men to distinguish himself greatly in the assault on the land forces and entrenchments was Lieutenant James Kenny, leading the 3rd troop company. The Spanish Admiral, Romerata, at once withdrew up the River Uruguay with his ships and never again sailed them past Martin Garcia. Brown reported duly to

his Government, got some further reinforcements and sailed for Montevideo where the main body of the Spanish fleet was gathered. The Buenos Aires Governor, Alvear, was then besieging the Uruguayan capital from the land side. Brown made a demonstration against the Spanish forces, which were much stronger than his, but as though cowed at the immense superiority of the enemy, withdrew hurriedly. This was a ruse to draw the Spaniard in his pursuit away from the fort guns; it worked exactly as he had intended and resulted in the utter defeat of the Spanish fleet and the immediate surrender of the city. In this engagement, May 16, 1814, Brown was wounded in the leg, but not severely. After conveying his prizes to Buenos Aires and receiving the thanks and plaudits of the Government and people he returned to Montevideo. The Spanish Governor, when the capitulation was arranged, gave himself up to the Admiral. The besieged garrison, although well supplied with war material, must have been very badly off for food, as the Governor, Vigodet, was in such a state of destitution that Brown generously supplied him, from his own resources, with a considerable sum of money, in gold, to provide for his needs on the homeward voyage to Spain. This unselfish and kindly treatment of enemies was characteristic of Brown in all his dealings. If a public subscription was started for any purpose he was always to the fore with his contribution; if the Government, as it often was in those days, was hard pressed for money, Brown was ready to forego his salary, and although he was never more than a poor man, comparatively, there is not the record of an ungenerous or selfish deed in all his glorious career. A couple of stories often told about him will not be out of place in connection with this fine trait of his all round very noble character.

It was when the battle of Costa Brava was won and Garibaldi who commanded the Uruguayan ships had set fire to his shattered barques and was trying to get to land in a small boat, the Argentine captain, Cordero, hurried to

Brown and while handing him a telescope, exclaimed: "Look, Admiral, the enemy commander is escaping in that boat. Shall I give orders to pursue him?" Brown replied: "No, let him go in peace; he is a brave man, and the brave are not to be persecuted. Let him go, and may God be with him. If we take him prisoner, Rosas, in a bad humor may put him to death. I don't know why it is, but I have a feeling that Garibaldi is destined to do great things yet." This is the way the story is recorded, but I would not say that the recorder did not embellish it somewhat.

In March, 1843, Brown was once more before the besieged city of Montevideo. Bells and guns and lowered flags told of the death, within the city's walls, of the brave and patriotic Argentine statesman, General Martin Rodriguez, now an exile by the wrath of Dictator Rosas. Brown was commanding for the Dictator, but he served the Republic also with and under Rodriguez, who twenty years previously was at the head of the Argentine Government, and now when he learned for whom the mourning was he ordered the flags on the fleet to be put at half mast. Some of his lieutenants reminded him that the fallen patriot was not only of the party to which Rosas was opposed, but was an uncompromising enemy of the dreaded Dictator, and that this action would be likely to provoke the latter's fearful anger. Brown, in a mood the most undisturbed, explained to his kindly anxious friends.:

"At this moment I don't know whether Rodriguez was a friend or a foe of Don Juan Manuel. I only know that he was a great patriot, had a great heart and was a noble citizen, and that is what I am honoring."

His battles were fought with crews picked up chiefly from among the cast-off or deserted sailors who led a more or less disorderly and wild life along the river front from Ensenada to Retiro. They were good enough as sailors and fearless as fighters, but they were the merest mercenaries, always hard to control and never wholly reliable in the hour of need; their heart was not in the cause and

so Brown proposed to supersede them with men who would have a patriotic as well as a material motive in fighting for the young republic. He, therefore, selected crews of native Argentines. These men were usually of the poorest and most uneducated classes—hardly any others would venture into labors so trying and dangerous and, with all, so ill-requited. A writer who says that these sailors were sometimes Indians, in the majority, describes them thus: "They did not know how to read, nor even to count, and it was almost an impossible task to teach them the names of the ropes, of the sails, and of the movements." But Brown was equal to any task in sailing; he knew that however ignorant his men might be of written words or signs they were all expert card players, and further that the names of all the cards in the pack would be sufficient to go around on all of the riggings and machinery of the ship that he would need to use them hurriedly at. He then gave to these parts, according to their importance, the names of the cards. So that his orders were given somewhat in this wise: "Let loose the ace!"—"Make fast the king!"—"Tighten the queen, there!"—"Slack off the knave!" etc., etc. It seems like a joke, but it is the duly recorded fact. There was no obstacle that Brown's patience, courage, perseverance, good humor, wit—in short, his genius—could not overcome. His popularity with the Argentines never slackened or paled, unlike that of Admiral Cochrane, who quarrelled with everybody, and was always ready to fight for whoever gave him the largest recompense and never fought for any cause except as a salaried employee. In comparison with these disfiguring features in Cochrane's otherwise splendid career, hear Lopez: "Brown loved the daring deed for the deed itself, and found sufficient compensation in the applause of Buenos Aires and its people, without ever changing his aims or ambitions from the day, in his youth, when he first set foot on the soil of his second, or I should say, the only country he had from that day to the last day of his long life, and in which he was always

honored and always beloved." With this little sketch I shall leave our great countryman for the present. We shall meet him again through these pages and more about his great deeds, his adventures, his peculiarities, and the calm end of his stormy life will be told.

CHAPTER III

DR. JOHN OUGHAN—DR. O'GORMAN PENNIONED—CAPTAIN O'BRIEN'S BULL-FIGHT—RECEPTION TO AMERICAN DELEGATES—IRISH CITIZENS—LYNCH'S GENEROSITY—JORGE O'BRIEN—ESTANISLAO LYNCH'S SERVICES—OTHER O'BRIENS—RAYMUND MORRIS.

AS well as Lynches, O'Gormans, Dogans, Cullens and O'Ryans there was a family of Butlers, or Butelers, in Buenos Aires in the early days of the 19th century, and I find that one of them, William, was in December, 1814, promoted from Lieutenant in the Grenadiers to a higher rank in the National Infantry. At this time the Lynches seem to be one of the most prominent families in the city, or, indeed, in the country. Three of them, probably brothers, Justo, Patricio and Benito, subscribe for themselves and their wives fifty-seven dollars cash, twenty-eight marks and twelve ounces of worked silver to the patriot funds. A couple of months later, August, 1815, Patricio is made Adjutant Major of the Civic Infantry. In the following year they are to the fore again with subscriptions: Patricio, Benito, Estanislao and Justo give six hundred dollars to the public funds. Soon after Benito gets command of the first battalion of Civic Militia, and Patricio is chosen a city councillor. But these Lynches were only Irish by ancestry and now I turn to one who was Irish in birth and spirit, and whose services to Argentina ought to have made him better known to, at least his own countrymen here, if not to all Argentines.

This very remarkable Irishman who aided so materially the liberating armies in the northwestern country campaigns, and afterwards contributed much to raise and perfect medical science in Buenos Aires was Dr. John Oughan.

Although born in Ireland he came in the Carrera expedition from the United States, sailing from Baltimore in the "Clifton" on December 3, 1816, reaching the Plate capital on the 9th of the following February. Carrera, as already shown, was a Chilian and the expedition he got together in the United States, although financed by the Buenos Aires Government, he intended would be used for the liberation of his own country. He was well known to be an unrelenting enemy of O'Higgins and San Martin and the then governing party in Buenos Aires; so, when he arrived in this city, and his plans became known, Supreme Director Pueyrredon made him a prisoner and placed the new ships and their complements of men and munitions at the service of the common cause. Oughan passed over to the liberating armies under San Martin and remained for some time in Peru after the independence of the western Republics had been secured. He returned to Argentina in the early Twenties and at once became a very noted doctor. He quarrelled with Parish, the English Minister, and was shamefully persecuted by him and the English then in Buenos Aires, but more about this later on.

About the time Dr. Oughan was leaving the United States in a military expedition the purpose of which was to rid South America of Spanish domination, Dr. Michael O'Gorman, who came nearly forty years previously as the physician of a great military expedition intent on making secure and everlasting that domination, was being pensioned off by the government that replaced the old order of things. O'Gorman, it is evident, was in sympathy with the patriotic cause, as his contributions to the new public library, already referred to, show. The pension granted him was two-thirds of his regular salary, which terms must have been considered exceptionally generous as the order fixing them reminds the public of his great services to the country.

Another Irishman who greatly distinguished himself afterwards began to figure in Argentine life in this year, and the following little story taken from Hudson's "Re-

cuerdos de Cuyo" (Memories of Cuyo), will be found somewhat amusing as well as serving to introduce him. In a great tournament which San Martin's army gave in Mendoza in the latter part of 1816, amongst other items on the programme were bull-fights, and a Captain O'Brien prepared to display his prowess as a "toreador" in one of them. The bull was let into the arena, O'Brien awaiting him standing on a table in the center of the scene, the animal gazed in wonder for a moment and then rushed for his antagonist carrying the table before him on his horns. The Captain was very tall and thin and when the bull struck the table he jumped clear over the animal, landing on his feet as the maddened beast crashed forward with his head through the broken boards of the table. O'Brien retired quite undisturbed amidst the wildest applause. This is the earliest reference I have found to this notable Irishman, but he will be often with us from this on for some years.¹

A Don Felipe Reilly, who was in business in Buenos Aires in 1818, wrote a letter, which came into San Martin's hands, in which he explained that it was said that General San Martin seizes and sacks, without paying their owners, all American ships carrying powder and arms along the Chilian sea-front, and for this reason no American ships cared to pass beyond Buenos Aires. San Martin at once wrote to Don Estanislao Lynch in Santiago de Chile, who was the agent of such ships, asking him to say whether or not there was any truth in the statement. Lynch publishes a letter assuring him that there is no truth in the story, and that it was circulated by the enemy, mentioning that his brother, Patrick Lynch of Buenos Aires, had made all contracts with

¹ John Thomond O'Brien was the son of a wealthy County Wicklow man. He was still in his teens when he joined the army of liberation in Buenos Aires, but young as he was his career had already been one of unusual romance and adventure, and in this order it continued to the end. His life, by a Chilian historian, published in 1904, is one of the most interesting little books, of its class, that I have read.

the Chilian Government in the matter. I have not been able to find out who Don Felipe was, whether Irish, Spanish or Argentine born. The O'Reillys like the O'Donnells were plentiful in Spain, and at the very time I write of there was an Irish-born General O'Reilly fighting on the side of Spain up in Bolivia.

This year there are more subscriptions from Patrick Lynch, and Mr. Buteler also contributes; the fund is for the support of some refugees from Entre Rios. Lynch has also been liberal to the National Library.

An advertisement in the "Gaceta," 1818, is to the effect that a very learned and high society young lady who proposed to teach the young ladies of Buenos Aires everything that was good for young ladies to know, was staying at the house of Don Daniel Donohue, near San Nicolas Church.

The following report from an American paper is given in the "Gaceta": "On the 26th of March, last, Messrs. Lynch and Zimmerman, rich and respectable merchants of Buenos Aires, gave a magnificent dinner in honor of the American delegates. They were received in a spacious court tastefully illuminated with brilliant globes over which a beautiful shade hung and from which was gloriously suspended the flags of the United States and South America. Over two hundred young people, distinguished for their opulence and elegance of dress and personal beauty were present."

It was in 1815, according to DeMoussy, that emigration to the La Plata countries commenced, but in the previous ten or twelve years a goodly number of foreigners had gathered into Buenos Aires. They were generally people who came with some capital, in the interest of some business concern, as military adventurers, or men of some profession; few had come as manual laborers or settlers with the purpose of making a home for themselves by the sweat of their brow, so to speak. By this time one can find ample evidence of the existence of a little Irish colony in the city. Craig, John Dillon, Brown, Coyle, Armstrong, Sheridan

were prominent names, but there were many others in less important social grades whose traces it is harder to find. An American youth who landed here in the latter part of 1817 or the early part of 1818, and who afterwards became Col. King, and wrote a book called, "24 Years in Argentina," tells how when he was put off a ship, in the privateering business, he tramped through the streets in search of work, or some one or something he could understand, or who could understand him, he saw a sign over a door which read "P. Flusk." Greatly cheered at the sight of a name with so familiar a look about it, he went into the house, which was a tavern, and found its owner to be an Irishman. Flusk gave young King his keep till he found employment, he was soon after in the army and had a very adventurous career. In this same year the "Gaceta" publishes an advertisement from the British Consul announcing that if Gerard Kavanagh of Waterford will call on him he will give him some important news. The most interesting event, however, about this time is recorded on the 30th of August, when the first really Irish name amongst those reported as acquiring citizenship is met with in that of James O'Brien. O'Brien was not the first Irishman to become a citizen of the Republic, for Brown and many of those who served under him were already citizens *ex officio*, but his is the first unmistakably Irish name I have met with as applying for citizenship.

In telling of the Irish in Argentina throughout the years of the struggle for independence, I have, to a very considerable extent, to follow the campaignings of the Argentine army, and thus must often travel beyond what is to-day the boundaries of the Republic, and especially into Chili. Don Estanislao Lynch is very worthy of recognition here for two noble acts of generosity and patriotism. After the battle of Maipu he inaugurated a subscription for the widows, orphans, and disabled soldiers, which, as well as glorious memories, that great combat left to Argentina and Chili, with a contribution of twenty ounces of gold. And

Lopez tells how when San Martin was in straits for money in Chili he appealed to "Don Estanislao Lynch, Argentine citizen, of very respectable position in Valparaiso to get the merchants of the place to come together and subscribe the necessary funds, which the Chilians could not do, to buy the 'Whitman' afterwards the warship, 'Lauturo,' a frigate belonging to the East Indian Co." This first Chilian warship was placed by Señor Guido, Argentine Minister to Chili, under the command of Captain George O'Brien, then in San Martin's army. O'Brien at once sailed out to make prisoner of a Spanish ship, the "Esmeralda." It is said by Lopez that O'Brien took upon himself to capture the ship or to die in the attempt, and that he was a man to comply with his word. The Spanish and Chilian ships met; O'Brien and a party boarded the Esmeralda and the ship seemed theirs when a Spanish bullet through the head ended his life, and the victors of a moment before were now prisoners of the Spanish Captain. Mitre, in his "Life of San Martin," tells that O'Brien's dying words were: "Don't abandon her, boys—The frigate is ours." Soon after the "Lauturo" returned to port with a captured ship, and as the account Lopez gives of what happened interests us for the part Lynch played in it, I will give it in short: When Don Estanislao succeeded in getting his fellow merchants of Valparaiso, native and foreign, to contribute the necessary funds, \$80,000, to buy the "Whitman" an agreement was made that any prizes she took would be the property of said merchants until the amount subscribed, and interest, should be paid off. The prize brought in was the "San Miguel," with a valuable cargo, the Captain of the Port held her and her cargo for the Government. The merchants became furious at the seeming treachery; the English owner, Andrews, who had not yet received payment in full for his vessel, with the help of the English Admiral present, took possession of the boat, and but for Lynch, who was a man of great energy, getting the Argentine Minister at Santiago to come immediately to Valparaiso and

have the Englishman paid off, the whole enterprise of the purchase of the "Whitman" would have fallen through most disastrously.

The battle of Maipu is as glorious an event for Argentina as it is for Chili, for although fought and won beyond the Andes it was the Argentine General, San Martin, with an army almost wholly Argentine that effected the great triumph for South American Independence. One of the men who won high distinction that great day was O'Brien of the famous bull-fight of Mendoza. John Thomas O'Brien was then somewhere about twenty years of age and had already become a great favorite with San Martin, who made him one of his aids and entrusted to him many very important missions. Mitre calls him San Martin's "inseparable adjutant." In the battle of Maipu it was O'Brien San Martin sent in pursuit of the defeated and fugitive Spanish General, Osorio, and although he did not succeed in overtaking the enemy commander he pressed him so hard that the Spaniard and his few survivors had to abandon all their luggage, even to correspondence and private documents. He fought through all the Chilian and Peruvian campaigns, and in 1821 when the great Argentine general had liberated these countries, and decided to send the flags he had conquered in his glorious campaigns to the Government of Buenos Aires, the officer he chose to be the bearer of the precious trophies was Colonel don Juan O'Brien, and these flags were deposited with great pomp in the Cathedral of Buenos Aires. When the struggle was over in Peru, and Independence established, San Martin presented O'Brien with the state canopy under which all the Spanish Viceroy's from Pizarro's time used to walk on state occasions and at official functions. The presentation was public, and the Liberator of the western republics addressed some very complimentary words to the worthy recipient of the historic memento.

O'Brien had a very varied career and died at Lisbon in 1861. He tried his hand in many lines of business,

chiefly in mining, but does not seem to have been a success in any of them. He left two daughters surviving him; about the narrowest escape he had in all his adventurous career was when he brought a message to Don Juan Manuel Rosas which the latter did not like and for which he, the Dictator, was for many days between two minds as to whether he would have the distinguished messenger's head cut off or not, but Don Juan's angel of good counsel, his beloved Manuelita, interceded and the General left the country alive. As with the interesting characters in a novel O'Brien will come up again in this narrative, but I will give here a little story Mitre tells about him, in a good-humored way. "General O'Brien, in spite of his long residence in America, could never speak Spanish correctly. Thirty years after (the battle of Maipu), in 1849, in Valparaiso, relating an occurrence (of the battle) he said that San Martin had exclaimed: 'Que bruta esta gota Osorio—Triunfo nuestra—Sol testigo!'" This is very poor Spanish, but means, *what a brute this Goth, Osorio, is—by the sun, the victory is ours!* Of course San Martin's Spanish was correct, and Mitre, with the humor of the true criollo, which was his in plentiful measure, must have greatly enjoyed O'Brien's attempt at repeating it. General O'Brien, like Brown, was always very popular with the people with whom he threw in his lot, but unlike the Admiral he had no toleration for Rosas and openly and bitterly denounced him when he had escaped from the clutches of the dreadful Dictator.

There is still another O'Brien who took part in the War of Independence under General San Martin. His name was Joseph and he had the rank of Sergeant-Major of Mounted Grenadiers in April, 1820. In Mitre's book, so often referred to in these pages, he is mentioned as having attended a meeting of officers to elect a Commander-in-Chief, a change in the civil government having nullified the appointment of the actual commandant, it was felt. O'Brien was one of the officers who refused to consider the appoint-

ment of the Commander-in-Chief as ceasing on the grounds submitted. This Joseph is the third O'Brien who served, with rank, under Argentina's greatest general.

An Irishman of whom we very seldom hear, yet who rendered great service to the cause of South American freedom was Raymond Morris. From Mitre's "Life of San Martin," vol. 2, p. 284, I take the following, which is not the only notice of this distinguished soldier: "The first ship to fly the flag that was to rule the Pacific waters was the Spanish brig, 'Aguila,' of 220 tons. After the battle of Chacabuco it was decided to leave the Spanish flag flying over the port of Valparaiso. Deceived by this stratagem the 'Aguila' entered the port and was captured. Armed with sixteen cannon and manned by seamen picked up from the port her command was confided to a lieutenant of the Army of the Andes, Raymond Morris, by birth an Irishman. Her first naval campaign was the rescue of the Chilian patriots, imprisoned on the island of Juan Fernandez, by Osorio and Marcó. Among the first of those rescued was the future Chilian Admiral, Manuel Blanco Encalada." Morris, I believe, was a Sligoman.

With this short reference to a few of the many of our countrymen who marched in the conquering hosts of the hero of the Andes, through Chili and Peru, I will turn back to the territory where the people it is my purpose to tell about particularly belong. And so my next chapter will commence where the seven currents gave name to the northern part of the Argentine Mesopotamia, and a most interesting, if not always most commendable, character will be with us for a few pages.

CHAPTER IV

CAMPBELL—O'BRIEN'S SCHEME OF IRISH IMMIGRATION—THE FIRST IRISH
CHAPELAIN, ETC.

WHEN Beresford turned his soldiers loose to go among the "natives," freely, one of the men who interpreted his orders rather too liberally was Peter Campbell. So freely did Peter go amongst the "natives" that he kept going until he got a very respectable distance between himself and his indulgent and considerate General. Campbell and some of his friends, unlike poor Skennon, made very few halts, for the purpose of converting the "natives" into good loyal and fond English subjects, until they got up as far as Corrientes. There he settled down, and after some time when he did go into the "converting" line, it was in a fashion of his own invention, and entirely for his own use and benefit, as he saw these things. Lopez, who wrote with Robertson's "Letters," Mitre's "Belgrano" and other works, in which Campbell is referred to as an Irishman, within his reach, says he was English or Scotch. Probably he did not think the question of enough importance to bother looking up his references thereon, and so made the little slip which speaks rather badly either for his memory or for his knowledge of the subject. Mitre, however, in whose boyhood Campbell must have been a good deal talked about, as a sort of dare-devil, outlaw and resourceful guerrilla fighter, somewhat in the order of our Mexican friend of the present day, Pancho Villa, cannot but have met with many who knew him personally, described him as an Irishman and a Catholic. The book of the Robertson brothers, of course, puts his nationality and coming to the country outside all question of

conjecture. J. B. Robertson first met Campbell in 1813 and he was a man already a good deal talked of, locally, on account of his deeds of daring and prowess in the struggle against the Spanish authorities and river forces under Romerata. He held some kind of office in the years following when Artigas and his governors ruled in Corrientes. The Scotchman's account of his first meeting with "Don Paythro," as he, in his truly Scotch humor, calls him, is very interesting, but is somewhat spoiled by the author's evident prejudice against the Irishman, firstly for being an Irishman and secondly for his having succeeded in effecting his escape from the English army. According to this account Campbell was a tall, red-haired, rawboned man who adopted as far as he could the manners, customs and dress of the natives. In Ireland he had served some time as a tanner, and when he made his way to Corrientes secured employment in the tannery of a Señor Blanco, a Spaniard. When the Revolution came on, four years later, he joined in with the patriots and as a guerrilla leader on the Parana, among its many islands, and along its woody shores, as well as on the spreading plains, rendered the patriots very considerable assistance, and was to their enemies, whether Spaniards or Paraguayans, of the Francia persuasion, no small terror. Things in the way of fighting, at the time Robertson fell in with him, being rather dull he proposed settling down to business, on a salary, in the employ of the young Scot. Robertson was in the business of exporting everything that could be exported at a profit, the chief articles, however, of the trade were cow and horse hides. The country was in a very disorderly state, and Campbell, who was evidently an orderly disposed and industrious man, proposed that for a certain salary he would act as agent for him, restore order in the province and get all the exportable products on the farms and estancias in to his establishments. The canny Scot saw business and profit at once, quickly employed Campbell, and, according to his own account, they soon changed a bankrupt and lawless

region into one of order and prosperity. The story of the progress and success of their enterprise, as told by the brothers, seems, as the saying is, almost too good to be true. Robertson made an immense fortune and retired. The civil wars of Artigas, Ramirez and Lopez of Santa Fé, against the Buenos Aires Government brought Campbell from his paths of peace to the strenuous life once more. His old employer, although with little desire to be friendly to his useful agent, praises him for his organizing powers, good business sense, tireless energy, amazing courage and dexterity with arms, and strict honesty in his dealings. He never shunned a row, no matter what the weapons employed in the combat were, and he never entered one except in self-defense or to make peace; his peace making, it is true, was often of an order, from the health of the combatants' point of view, not greatly preferable to the row itself. The Robertsons say he never used his arms, whether sword, pistol or long knife, with fatal intent—disable his opponent was as far as ever he wanted to go in a row or local quarrel. When this Scotchman first knew him he had a page or servant, a smaller, dark-complexioned gaucho whom he called Don Eduardo and who came to Corrientes from Tipperary under the same conditions as Don Pedro himself. He was the inventor of what was called "a new fighting tactic," which was a sort of combination of cavalry and infantry in one and the same force. His men carried rifles with long bayonets which they used with equally terrible effect mounted or on foot. They were a new thing at the battle of the Herradura in 1819.

Campbell cannot be spoken kindly of by Argentine patriotic writers, nor, indeed, is he. His military activities, after the Revolution, were always on the side of the factious local leaders who made the first civil wars of the country, wars which proved so disastrous to the young Republic, and to which writers trace most of the country's political misfortunes, even the evil régime of Rosas. It has to be remembered, at the same time, that this is but the view of

one side to the quarrel, and that in Uruguay they regard Artigas, Campbell's chief as the founder and martyr of their liberties, while Lopez is Santa Fé's greatest man, and but for the miserable fate that overtook Ramirez he would stand as high with his people as either of the others do with theirs. These *caudillos* were, no doubt, a great misfortune for their country at the time, but it is equally beyond question that in the view which they and their followers took of the then conditions they were acting patriotically.

It is said that Campbell married a daughter of Artigas, but I have not been able to make out if he left any descendants. Another Irishman who figured in these parts in Campbell's time was one Yates. He, too, came in the English invasion and his story, although not so well known, and so picturesque as that of Don Pedro, is very much on the same lines. In all, some twenty or thirty of the Beresford-Whitelocke fugitives made their way to Entre Rios and Corrientes, and most of them took part in the Revolution and the civil wars. Several were in the battle of San Nicolas with Carrera and Alvear, and a few of them fell prisoners to the National Army in the taking of the town.

There is a very pleasing story told by Miss Pastel, and given in Robertson's "Letters," of Campbell having rescued a white girl from the Indians. It runs somewhat like this: Don Pedro was on board his boat with a small force of his men, sailing northwards on the Parana, when he saw a party of Indians on the Corrientes shores. The Indians, it seems, were regarded as in their right while they kept on the west bank of the river, but they stood as trespassers on the opposite side. Campbell hove to and disembarked to find out the wherefore of this encroachment. The chief explained, and while explaining, Don Eduardo from Tipperary, discovered one side, in a group, a white girl, and communicated, in his own language, the information to his leader. Don Pedro accepted the Indian's explanation and returned to his boat, making the customary signs of

peace. He at once got all his men under arms, proceeded to the camp again and demanded that the white girl be forthwith surrendered. The Indian found it very hard to part with her, but Campbell came with his mind made up and the wherewith to make good his demand. The girl was placed duly with a respectable family who clothed and cared for her. She had been seized in Cordoba, with others of her family, in an ambush by the Indians, and after months of the saddest life imaginable was thus rescued and restored. What fine dramatic material there is in the story. The ambush in the late afternoon in some lovely glade among the Cordoba woods; the seizure, and the sudden disappearance of the savages into the dark forest; the dawn in some distant *tolderia*; the quarrel between the tribes, and the flight for safety of the weaker force across the great river to the "White Man's Land"; Campbell's coming ashore with his rough and desperate guards; Eduardo's suspicious curiosity and strange discovery, and then the rescue and restoration! This is not the only good and brave deed to the credit of Don Pedro, and although a desperate man who did dreadful things in the border warfare of his day, one might say of him as was sung of a similar type: "He wasn't no saint, but at judgement I'd run my chance with Jim 'longside of some pious shentleman who wouldn't shook hands with him."

In 1820 one meets the name of some Lynch in all the records of the day. Thus Doña Rosa Lynch de Castelli, widow of one of the foremost men of the Revolution, has to be denied her pension, owing to the bankruptcy of the state treasury. Don Benito Lynch is one of the City Councillors who will take over the government of the province in the midst of an anarchical civil conflict between ambitious military leaders. Don Patricio Lynch is a candidate for the representation of Buenos Aires in the legislature of the state as is also Don Pastor Lynch, whilst Francisco Lynch is a Sergeant-Major, with Colonel Jerome Colman in the armies of Carrera and Alvear, fighting against the Na-

tional Government. They were amongst the prisoners at San Nicolas in the battle of August, 1820. The year before one of the oldest and most noted Irish-Spanish families in the country came into my notice for the first time when I found Domingo Cullen the owner of a ship, the "Minerva," carrying, stone, iron, etc., from Montevideo. The Cullens were a great Irish family with a history going back into the remotest times. In the Penal Days a branch of them fled to Spain, and from Spain, in the 18th century, some of them came to La Plata. Although Domingo Cullen had his boats plying as aforesaid he was of the Santa Fé family which soon after began to figure prominently in that province, and members of the clan have distinguished themselves in the affairs of the country almost continuously ever since.

The years 19, 20 and 21 of the last century were years which upset and undone many in Buenos Aires, but I find the Lynches managing to keep pretty well on top all the time. Don Justo Pastor was pensioned off from his position of chief accountant in this latter year. Patrick was then a ship owner and in very close touch with the government. He and three others were appointed a commission to distribute fifty thousand dollars amongst the patrician class. These were the needy amongst families of former prominence whose change of circumstances came to them through their loyalty to the patriot cause. We may be sure that Doña Rosa Lynch de Castelli was paid that back pension which we noticed a little while since, seeing that Don Patricio was one of the commission charged with the payments.

Richard Duffy was amongst the business men who paid taxes. The Armstrong firm was under the name of Bertram Armstrong this year. Edward Gahan was captain of the Argentine schooner, "Paquete del Rio de La Plata," trading with the Uruguayan ports.

Whether it is that Irishmen through some natural talent easily absorb medical knowledge or that the Irish people

are as a rule so healthy in their own land as to make the medicine man's trade a bad one, I do not know, but the country seems always to have had physicians and surgeons to supply to other lands. There has not been a year since Dr. Michael O'Gorman came to Buenos Aires, to the present day, but some of the leading medical men of Argentina were Irish. In 1822 the Academy of Medicine was opened and one of its fifteen members was Dr. James Lepper, an Irishman who had been for some years practicing in the city at the time. He was already a noted physician and was appointed to the charge of the public health of the South Section of the Municipal area.

This little item of news from the "Argos" of April 3, will be interesting: "On Saturday, 30th ultimo, Colonel Don Juan O'Brien entered the city with the five banners and two standards which His Excellency, the Protector of Peru, consigned to this people in the name of the victorious armies."

In this newspaper I find a long article translated from the "Liverpool Mercury" comparing the religious equality and toleration guaranteed by the new Constitution of Mexico with those England maintains in Ireland. The article is very favorable to Ireland, and an interesting comment is published soon after on the state of Ireland. It says the Dublin papers are full of hateful news on this matter, and that conditions in Waterford and Cork are so bad that the people are wild against the priests for restraining them. As showing how little the aspect of political affairs has changed in nearly a hundred years I will extract a news item from the "Argos," a paper seemingly very friendly to Ireland, it is a report of a remarkable debate in the English House of Commons: Sir Francis Burdett made a motion to have something done to relieve conditions in Ireland, and was supported in an excellent speech by Mr. Hobhouse, both Englishmen, but on a vote being taken on the motion it was found that there were four against it for the one in favor of it. Last year, after

a serious rebellion, in which there was a considerable loss of life and property, a proposal to "relieve the situation" met a similar fate, save that it was not thought worth while putting it to the vote, it being shouted down almost as soon as made.

When Captain O'Brien came to the city with the flags from Peru he did not long remain inactive, but went right into an arrangement with the Government which provided that he was to go to Ireland and bring out 200 skilled laborers to be employed in public works in Buenos Aires. The suburban town, named Belgrano, after the patriot then recently deceased, was founded to be the residential quarter of the new colony. The terms on which the colonists were to be contracted were all arranged, and the families were to be "moral and industrious," but the scheme, like so many of Rivadavia's, and, indeed, of O'Brien's, too, fell though, this time for want of funds. Belgrano is now one of the most important of the suburban townships of the capital, and instead of the dwelling place of imported laborers is the residential quarter of some of the wealthiest patricians of the land.

The "Argos" gives some more news items in which our people figure in one way or another; and hoping that they may prove as interesting to my readers as they did to me when they came my way I shall set down a few of them here. A Mr. Beazly, a stranger, is reported as having insulted in the grossest manner the United States representative, Mr. Forbes, through his friend and secretary, Mr. Duffy. Forbes had no notion to let Uncle Sam be treated with any discourtesy, especially by a stranger, and so he made a serious complaint to Minister of State, Rivadavia, who at once sent the police after Beazly to caution him on his peril not to repeat the offense. The thing happened in a drink-shop in what is now the Paseo de Julio, and Beazly, the stranger, was, I believe, the grandfather of our Lord Mayor of a few years ago.

Whatever changes may have come in the order of busi-

ness, politics, religion or any other phase of our city life, the ways of womankind seem to have been pretty much the same a hundred years ago as they are to-day. Mr. Bevans, a Quaker, arrived this year to do some engineering for the Rivadavia administration. The paper I am quoting from comments on the arrival of the distinguished engineer, and one of the benefits it most hopes to see come through his influence is a reform in ladies' fashions. Because of the delightful simplicity of dress he and his family were examples of the editor recommends all the ladies of the city to at once become Quakers, and thus avoid the awful cost of dress which was then forbidding many a man of small means to dare the responsibility of marrying a wife. Quakerism, on this account is as much to be desired, and as little popular among the fair ones, to-day as it was when the "Argos" editor wailed his sorrows, but I am afraid it is not a religion for women, and I should not wonder, if it has not been reformed since then, to hear of its having ceased entirely as a feminine cult. William Buteler has been serving as judge of the first district since the beginning of 1822.

As tending to show the interest taken in Irish affairs, here, in the first Twenties I may mention a long account of a fight between the Orangemen and the Catholics, at Mehera, in the County Derry. The "Argos," unlike some of our present day newspapers, takes no pains to hide the facts or shift the blame for the disgraceful condition of affairs from where it justly belongs. It plainly states that the government policy has been to set faction against faction for its own purpose. The "London Times" is quoted as saying that the Orangemen sought safety in the military barracks and were there supplied with arms to slaughter the Catholics, a dozen or so of whom were killed. There is an article in the same issue in which it is shown that Ireland and Holland supply the world with butter and cheese. The principal Irishmen in business in Buenos Aires at the end of 1823, were still Dillon, Armstrong and Sheridan. In

addition to these strong business establishments, which gave employment to many Irishmen, and the smaller business concerns already named, Mr. Keen had a hotel, Edward O'Neill had a school where he gave night lessons as well as day instruction, Tomas O'Gorman was a grocer, I believe this man was a son of the O'Gorman who came from France; R. B. Heppel sold Irish butter at 47 Piedad; Daniel Donoghue kept a boarding house; Francis Bradley was in the liquor business on the Almeda, now Paseo de Julio; Florence Coyle kept a livery stable at 7 La Plata, now Rivadavia, and between the Bolsa and the Banco de la Nacion; Richard Hynes sold pictures in his shop in Calle Victoria; William Jennings was a bootmaker at 106 Biblioteca, now Calle Bolívar; James Coyle had a tailoring as well as a drygoods business; he is said to have been the first Irish shopkeeper of Buenos Aires. There are many names besides these given, which may or may not be Irish, such as Smith, Cooper, Wilson, Tailor, McCall, Bagley, Kennedy, etc., which figure in the business advertisements of the day. Kennedy I believe was a Scotchman. There were no Irish, English or Scotch lawyers to be found at this time in the lists, but in addition to Oughan and Lepper there were Doctors James Donnell and John Sullivan. Dr. Michael O'Gorman is not heard of any more, if alive he would be a very old man at this time. There was little or no emigration from France or the South of Europe then and none at all from the northern countries, excepting Ireland and Great Britain. Skilled labor was, therefore, scarce and well remunerated. There were comparatively a large number of new industries, chiefly *saladeras*, beef salting and curing establishments; and *gracerias* where fat animals, mares especially, were rendered into grease; brewing houses and other factories, and about this time Sheridan and Harrat started their felt manufacturing. Already the Las Heras Government had prohibited the importation of flour, and this enactment had given the milling and agricultural industries a considerable impulse within the vicinity

of the capital. New streets were being opened and paved, new roads and docks were being made; building, planting trees; fencing in gardens and farms (work which was then done with the spade and shovel, there being no wire fences in those days), all these activities offered ready and profitable employment, and the workmen who most availed of these opportunities, and whose services were most in demand, were Irishmen. In 1832, the English Minister, Parish, after a somewhat careful effort at making a census of the British residents of Buenos Aires, gives their number at from five to six thousand. As the English and Scotch were almost wholly engaged in commerce, and the Irish were mostly workmen, it is reasonable to conclude that they outnumbered, or at least equalled in count the other two elements in what, as a whole, Parish called the British community. This calculation would leave our countrymen in Buenos Aires, in 1832, numbering about twenty-five hundred. Then bearing in mind that there was a considerable influx of Irish immigrants in the five or six years preceding the date of this census, I think it safe to fix the number of Irish in and around the city in 1824 as not greater than five hundred, probably a little less. And now that I have made something of an attempt at counting them, seen to their employment, shown that their business affairs must have been fairly hopeful, explained that they were well provided for medically, I will close this chapter by introducing their spiritual guide, and who, by the way, was the first "Irish Chaplain" in Argentina. Father Burke was his name, and like his great namesake of the latter half of the Nineteenth century, he was a Dominican. Santo Domingo Church was then the Irish Church as San Roque was in years afterwards. After the Revolution, and on its account, relations were broken off somewhat between the Pope and the Church in Argentina and a certain amount of disorganization and laxity had spread, it appears, amongst some of the orders; anyhow, on the grounds that such was the case, Rivadavia, who was Minister of State at the time I speak of, and who

had a bent for regulating everything, had a law made to regulate the Church, and this regulating was so planned that it soon amounted to the suppression of all the orders of priests and nearly all the communities of nuns. The Dominican monastery shared the fate of the others, of course; but Love, an Englishman who wrote a little book on Buenos Aires in 1825, mentions Fr. Burke, the Dominican, as being allowed to remain in his monastery "from motives of kindness." To me, however, it would seem that he was left to attend to the spiritual needs of the Irish Catholics. Brown, O'Brien, Dillon and many others had rendered great service to the patriots in the struggle for freedom, they were practical Catholics and leaders among their people, they would have had no hesitation in demanding, as a concession, that the Irish Chaplain be left to attend to the Irish people, and the authorities would grant their so reasonable request without a moment's pause.

Love was a typical Englishman and hated to admit that the Irish were of any consequence or consideration in Buenos Aires, or anywhere else, hence his "motives of kindness" to Fr. Burke. As an instance of his hostility to our people I will take the case of two Irish doctors who were practicing their profession in the city without the necessary local diplomas. They were summoned before the Medical Board and forbidden to practice further until they could satisfy the Board that they were duly qualified. One of them, Dr. Henry Donnelly, stood up at this point, put on his hat and told the Board of Examiners that he had a very small opinion of them. The official gentlemen felt offended, of course, had recourse to the law and the offender was ordered to quit the country at once, and to never return. The Englishman tells the story as though it was a sort of street brawl, and speaks of the two doctors as "the Paddies"; but Oughan and Lepper being men of high importance are just, Britishers, with him. In his reference to Father Burke he says he is over seventy years of age and "much esteemed by the British as well as the natives, being divested of those

prejudices which so often disgrace the cloth." It was in this same church of Santo Domingo, and by these very priests who "disgrace the cloth" that the parole-breaking Englishman, Captain Pack, was shielded, at the risk of their lives, from the victorious defenders of the city in the second English invasion. See how the Englishman, writing eighteen years after, repays the kindness! However, apart from his anti-Catholic and anti-Irish bigotry, Love's book is a very interesting and useful little volume, one of the most so that I have found as treating of Buenos Aires at that time. Father Burke may, I believe, be considered the first of the long and unbroken line of Irish priests who nobly and untiringly devoted themselves to the service of God and their fellow-countrymen in this land of many dangers and many handships for the last one hundred years.

CHAPTER V

SHEEPFARMING, ETC.

THE story of the Irish people in Argentina, so far, when not one of warfare on the adjacent waters, in the English invasions, or in the liberating campaigns of the North and West, has been a record of ordinary efforts in the battle of life here in Buenos Aires City. This chapter, however, will treat of a turning point in their affairs, and will try to trace the first beginnings of the new industry which it was their good fortune to be among the earliest, the most persevering, and most successful in pursuing, and which has been for them and for the Republic a source of great wealth and advancement. I begin the story of our people's connection with sheep-farming in the year 1824 as that is the earliest at which I have been able to find proof of Irishmen being engaged in the business. Although I have no doubt there were Irishmen employed in tending sheep some years anterior to this date. However, in 1824 the Government imported more than one hundred head of merino sheep from the Rambouillet breeders, with the purpose of improving the native stock. These animals were purchased by Peter Sheridan, an Irishman, and by an Englishman of the name of Harrat, the two men were in partnership in other lines of business. Sheridan and his brother had been in the importing and exporting trade for some time previous to this purchase of the bred sheep, and evidently must have already made some start in sheepfarming. Mere merchants would hardly invest a large sum of money in imported rams and ewes unless they had some practical use for them and a place wherein to use them.

But neither to the Government nor to Sheridan and his partner is due the credit of having commenced the improvement of the breeding of sheep in Argentina, but to the North American, Thomas Lloyd Halsey, who was U. S. Consul in Buenos Aires in 1818.

The story of this enterprising man's introduction of fine sheep to the La Plata country has something of adventure in it not usually met with in plain business enterprises. Spain was for long the first country in Europe for the raising of fine stock, as horn-cattle, sheep, asses and mules, and the exportation of these species, for breeding uses at least, was guarded against as jealously as was the loaning of the historic bull of Cooley. Halsey seems to have had some of Meav's ways with him for he decided, whatever the Spaniards or their laws might say, he would have some of their fine sheep on his farm in Buenos Aires or know the reason why. At considerable risk and great cost he contrived to get some thirty-five animals across the Portugese frontier, and shipped to Buenos Aires in 1814. Smuggling in those days was a profitable business all along the Spanish frontier, the officers appointed to prevent it frequently coming out with the largest part of the profits therefrom. Halsey with this *plantel* set to raising an entirely new breed of sheep, and by the year 1821 had a flock of some four hundred superior animals. A camp fire of the dry cardos, this year, reduced his flock to a number somewhat less than the original thirty-five of the Tain Caorach Halsey¹ from Spain. Some authorities say that the campfire in question took place in the year 1819, but Love, who wrote in '25, says it happened in 1821, and he is probably the best authority as he wrote so soon after the mishap. It may be, too, that there were fires in both years. The farm whereon the destroying fire occurred was at Alto Redondo, in the partido of Cañuelas, about eight leagues from Buenos Aires. After the misfortune of the fire he disposed of the survivors to a German of the name of Dwer-

¹ Sheep Spoil of Halsey.

hagan. This man had a farm at Quilmes and thither he brought his new stock to try his luck in the enterprise in which the American had been so unfortunate. By 1825, four or five years after the purchase, his score-and-a-half merinos had increased to the figure at which the cardo fire had found Halsey's flock after six years of patient care. The German then sold half his precious upbringing to a company of men deeply interested in the improvement of the breed of sheep, whose names were, Aguirre, Rojas and Haedo. These gentlemen took their portion to Corrientes, and Dwerhagan, because of the coarseness of the then Buenos Aires camps, brought his to Santa Fé. Cañuelas, Ranchos, San Vicente and the further out partidos were all *pajonales* then, and water from natural sources was too scarce to make these districts suitable for sheep breeding. The *balde sin fundo*, that simple, but, to the early sheepfarmer, invaluable invention, had not yet come to make the want of streams on a sheep run so small a consideration. If the dry thistles had played with Dwerhagan the same pitiless trick with which they disheartened Halsey he would have been a fortunate man; instead he succeeded sufficiently to be tempted to go northwards with his portion of what I may call the enchanted sheep, for such they would seem. All kinds of bad luck followed the little flock to Santa Fé, and after enduring hardships and disappointments that would drive anyone but a German to the most unconditional abandonment of the enterprise, Dwerhagan gathered up the remnants of his fairy flock and brought them to Uruguay. All the further information I have been able to glean relative to this portion of the Tain Halsey is that the animals dwindled down and scattered into other flocks, and that poor Dwerhagan went bankrupt.

The company of three who set their hopes for success in the territory of Corrientes struggled on somewhat longer. Haedo became disheartened, returned to Buenos Aires and was very successful in other lines of business. His comrades later on sought to return with the remnant of their

fine, and now very travelled and experienced merinos, but having reached the northern part of the Province of Buenos Aires they found the Lavalle-Dorrego revolution in strenuous progress, their peones deserted the ill-starred animals and these drifted into other points of sheep here and there on the camp, some were stolen for meat, some were drowned, all were lost to Aguirre and Rojas, but they improved the breed of sheep up around the Arroyo del Medio, and that's the best that can be said of them.

But even before Halsey's venture sheepbreeding was attracting some attention, for the "Telegraf Mercantil" in 1802 had some criticisms on the abundance of wool and how little it was being taken advantage of. The following is a translation of a paragraph: "Sheep stock which is in abundance in this district is not appreciated as it deserves. Owners contenting themselves with shearing the little which they need for home consumption and an occasional little lot to be shipped to Misiones. This is all the use that is made of it; its usual value being from six to eight royales the arroba." Later in the same year another paper, the "Semanario de Agricultura," had an article on the improvement of wool by cross-breeding, so the possibilities of the industry were, at least, being considered. The wars and troubles in the mother-country, the English invasions, followed so soon by the Revolution gave native enterprise other things to think of and turn to for many years after, and gave to foreigners the opportunity of establishing this, Argentina's greatest industry in the nineteenth century.

We have seen already that shipments of wool had been made from the Plate country in Colonial times. Parish, who is a good authority on statistical matters, writes that in 1822 there were exported from Buenos Aires 33,417 arrobas of wool, worth one dollar per arroba; in 1829, 30,000 arrobas at same price. In 1837 the export had risen to 164,706 arrobas, and the price to two dollars per arroba. It can be seen from these figures that there was a considerable trade in wool before the end of the first

quarter of the nineteenth century. And without the statistics quoted this fact could be reasoned out from the efforts of Halsey and the Government to improve the quality of the wool. Parish further says: "To the late Mr. Peter Sheridan and Mr. Harrat Buenos Aires is indebted for this new source of wealth which bids fair to rival in importance the most valuable of her old staple products." No doubt Sheridan and Harrat were the two most successful and enterprising men in the sheep-raising business the country had in the early Twenties, and their care and skill did much to establish it secure and permanently, but they were not the founders of the industry. In so far as I can find out this honor, as well as that of founding the first daily newspaper of the country, belongs to Americans, Halsey, in the one case, and Hallet in the other. And as Hallet made the first Irish-Argentine journalist so I believe did Halsey make the first Irish-Argentine sheepfarmer. When the business had grown to enormous extent and proportioned to the Republic immense wealth, of course, it was the duty of the English Minister, as a true Englishman, and in consonance with English principle, to claim the honor of it for subjects of the English Monarch. This writer remarks that when he arrived in Buenos Aires, in 1823, sheep carcasses were "used for little else than fuel for brick kilns." This statement is rather sweeping, and I am inclined to think that if the author of it saw such a use being made of the carcasses of sheep they must have been those of animals that died from the effects of long drought or a bad rain-storm. For at that time there were several *gracerias* where it would surely be more profitable to turn them into grease than to dispose of them as fuel for brick-making. And again, the people by this time must have had an appetite for mutton, as in 1821 Governor Rodriguez issued a decree forbidding the slaughter of cows, as cattle were getting scarce, which would suggest that beef must have been, consequently, too dear for common use amongst the poor. And as the people were always great meat-eaters

one can imagine that mutton, however despised by the Argentino in happier circumstances, could now find more worthy use than that of baking bricks.

Although it can be gathered from the foregoing that sheepfarming was already under way, not for many years yet had it become the principal employment of the Irish immigrant, but there is found from about this time, 1826, frequent mention of men of Irish names going landward from the city, presumably as herdsmen and corral-makers. Already a considerable number of Irishmen had come down from the United States, probably attracted by the favorable reports on prospects in the new republic published, some time before, by the Commission sent to Buenos Aires in 1818 by the Washington Government. Several of our most prominent Irish-Argentine families, at the present time, are sprung from those immigrants who came from the United States in the Twenties. Love, in the book already referred to, speaks of having met many of these Irishmen, naturalized citizens of the United States, or what he calls "Irish Yankees," and he does not forget to mention how heartily they all hated England.

Before turning away from the years I have been dealing with principally in this chapter, I will select a few items of interest met with in the advertisements of the "Gaceta Mercantil," Hallet's paper, in its two first years, '23 and '24: The Sheridan Brothers' establishment was at 13 Chacabuco; Thomas Armstrong was also importing and exporting; William Buteler and Anthony Lynch had trains of freight and passenger carts trading with the interior of the country; John F. Kennedy bought a beached ship from Stuart and M'Call; Lynch and Zimmerman made up a new partnership; the Argentine brig "Portefio Libre" sailed for Rio de Janeiro with freight and passengers under command of Captain Edward Gahan; in a benefit given in the Theater of Buenos Aires, in November, Signor Ricciolini and his wife performed the tragedy, "Oscar hijo de (Son of) Oisin"; Tomas O'Gorman had a square of land for sale in

front of the Retiro; Captain Shannon was in command of the mail boat plying with Montevideo (probably the same who was one of Brown's officers). The agitation for Catholic Emancipation is, apparently from reports in the papers, growing steadily in Ireland, and it is striking how much the tactics of the Orange element then resemble those had recourse to lately against Home Rule. Here is an example quoted from the "Dublin Star": "A certain priest tried to exorcise an evil spirit from a man of the name of Halloran by plucking out his tongue. Halloran, of course, died and the priest was suspended for three months." Not too unlike the M'Cann case of a few years ago. The priest's name is not given in either instance. It was a rather crude political sensation, but it worked all right with the Orangemen, who do not usually use their wits, if they have any. Indians were on the warpath around Lujan, Carmen de Areco and Salto this year. Curitipai was the name of their chief, he also did some fairly successful raiding in the neighborhood of Arrecifes towards the close of the year. At 57 Calle Victoria there was a double child on show that had but one chest, although it had two bellies, four legs, four arms and two heads. It was born in Uruguay on June 24, 1824, of South American parents, minors of age. The mother was confined without any nurse assistance, and was then in good health—the notice is headed, "Fenomeno."

It may be asked: what have these last items to do with the story of the Irish in Argentina? and I answer, nothing at all, but they interested me when I met them, and feeling they may similarly interest my readers, I place them at their disposal.

CHAPTER VI

1825-1829—DR. OUGHAN AND THE BRITISH MINISTER—"IRISH YANKIES"
—CRANWELL IRISH CHEMIST—KIERNANS, ASTRONOMER AND EDITOR—
MORE BROWN VICTORIES—OUGHAN AGAIN—IRISH IN THE CAMPS—KING,
THE SCOT AND THE GAIK—MISCELLANEOUS—GOVERNMENT HONORS
BROWN—WESTMEATH AND WEXFORD MEN, ETC.

ALTHOUGH it in no way relates to the story of the Irish people and their descendants in Argentina, I think it well that I should begin this chapter by recording, to the credit of the young nation, that full liberty to all sects to adore "Almighty God," as the edict has it, was decreed during the Supreme Directorship of Las Heras, the good General and good Governor. It was an act that all true Argentinos should be proud of, and as I am writing for Argentinos, why not remind them of it?

Early in January Dr. Oughan's furniture was sold in public auction under orders of the English Minister. Oughan, it appears, had made himself objectionable to the English residents, and the English representative had him confined in a hospital as a lunatic, and in due time shipped to England—queer things could be done then in Buenos Aires. Love says, "some eccentricity in his conduct" occasioned the deportation. His house was in Calle Cathedral, now San Martin. When he got home he instigated proceedings at law against the Consul, in the high courts, and got judgment in his favor. Soon after he returned to Buenos Aires, and, as we shall see, made things rather unpleasant for both the English Legation people and himself. David H. Connell was carrying on an extensive saddlery business. Somebody had been trying to coax his apprentice to leave him before his apprenticeship was fully served and Connell

offered a reward of one hundred decimos for the identification of this somebody. Admiral Brown had his house on the Barracas Road advertised for sale; it had about twenty acres of ground to it. John Dillon had his stores at what is now Bolivar and Calvo Streets. Mr. McKenna, fresh from London and the United States, opened a tailor shop at 25 de Mayo 15; he was probably one of Mr. Love's "Irish Yankees." The Government sent out doctors this year to vaccinate, in all directions; every town and settlement in all the Province was visited. Edward Joseph Cranwell, an Irishman, after passing two examinations, was authorized by the Medical Board to practice pharmacy and was thenceforward recognized a professor therein. But the most remarkable event in my chronicle for this year is the discovery by Bernard Kiernan of his first comet. Kiernan was a native of the county of Derry and before coming to this country had lived for some years in North America. He seems to have devoted himself almost wholly to astronomy, and I find him going to Cordoba soon after this discovery, presumably to avail himself of the better facilities for observation which the institutions and location of that city afforded. He compiled several almanacs and was employed by the Government as professor of astronomy and mathematics. Later he removed to Soriano in Uruguay; his wife's name was Mary Devlin, and his eldest son, James, in 1880, became chief editor of Hallet's paper, "La Gaceta Mercantil," and a couple of years later a partner with the founder in its ownership. The "Gaceta" has an article, October, 1825, on Kiernan's discovery which concludes thus: "We cannot close this article without rendering thanks to Mr. Kiernan for the information he has supplied us with, and we hope he will continue to favor us in this way. We shall always find it a pleasure to publish whatever intelligence he may be pleased to let us have. Although at present it may be that it interests few, nevertheless, we flatter ourselves that the time is not remote when the study of the noble science of astronomy will be more

general and of more interest to the many. This gentleman, moved by a laudable zeal for the promotion of this science, is preparing the result of his observations with the purpose of remitting them to the Greenwich astronomical institution, for there is an opportunity here of studying the phenomenon now which there they have not."

1826. Glorious as were the triumphs of Brown in the war of independence his feats this year almost minimize them into pettiness. In the campaign against the Spaniards I did not follow the Admiral from battle to battle, nor from cruise to cruise, as to pursue such a course, and to treat all the details of those homeric years in the career of the illustrious Mayoman would demand a volume not less bulky than what I have designed this whole work should be. Nor do I propose to sketch in even a small way the numerous engagements in which he wreathed in everlasting fame the naval banner of Argentina, and made his own name a foremost one among famous seamen.

The year was but a few days old when the Government called Brown once more into action. A mighty Brazilian fleet was in front of the city, holding up all commerce in a manner the most ruthless and defiant. David going forth to meet Goliath was, to all appearance, a much more even match for his antagonist than Brown standing out in his schooner to battle with Lobo and his numerous and powerful ships. The first clash with the Imperial forces was on January 15, and resulted in the Argentine Admiral returning to port with the prize of a warship and a transport captured from the enemy. This daring and brilliant feat of seamanship was accomplished under the full gaze of the people of the City, assembled along the shore and on the house-tops. It was something in the form of a reconnoitering raid affected while a few ships were being made ready for the real contest. Early in February the little fleet, consisting of six ships and a dozen small boats manned by six or seven hundred men, being ready, Brown attacked the blockading squadrons. As happened on other occasions,

some of his captains played him false, leaving the brunt of the engagement to the flagship and two others. After inflicting severe damage on the enemy ships the Argentine fleet returned to port and the Admiral had the three betraying captains discharged from the service. They were Azopardo, Bouzley and Warms. Within a few days he had his forces organized again, but when he went forth anew the enemy quickly retired to safer quarters. He came in with the Brazilians near Colonia and in the engagement both combatants suffered serious loss; but at Martin Garcia he once more triumphed and seized considerable booty. Again, in March, the blockaders appeared before Buenos Aires, and again did Brown's men fail him in the hour of need. May brought several battles and on Independence Day, the glorious 25th, in full view of the citizens of the Capital, he inflicted another tremendous defeat on the enemy who fled pursued by the Argentine ships. Next month the Brazilians returned to the fight and were again defeated, this time more hopelessly than ever before. But the Imperial forces were not yet prepared to give in and July closed with a renewal, in great strength, of the blockade, and the battling and blockading continues on through the rest of the year. Brown's next move was in the order of that of Scipio and while the Imperial ships were tossing idly on the bosom of the Plate he suddenly appeared before Rio de Janeiro in a most threatening mood. He captured and sunk many enemy ships, returning to Buenos Aires with his prizes towards the end of the year. It is noticeable that twelve years previously, when the Argentine Navy was founded, all its commanders were men of Irish, English or Scotch names; now fully one-half are men of Spanish descent, while the crews are almost entirely of the country-born. Not one of the captains of the campaign against the Spaniards is any more to be found on the Argentine decks. Michael Brown, the Admiral's brother, who distinguished himself in the campaign of the Pacific, and who rescued the Admiral when he fell into the hands

of the Spaniards at Guayaquil, when last heard of was in Brazil. He commanded the *Hercules* on the trip to Galapagos and homewards around the Horn. Owing to danger of falling into the hands of a Spanish fleet reported to be in the estuary of the Plate the *Hercules* proceeded on the venturesome trip to the West Indies. On this trip Brown had an adventure with the English, out of which he came with great credit, and wherein he made the English officers look extremely stupid and incompetent. Michael Brown being in weak health was put on shore at Rio Grande; W. D. Chitty, the Admiral's brother-in-law, replacing him in the command of the boat. It would seem that Michael returned to Ireland after this, for the Admiral visited a brother there in the Famine Year.

In July the Argentine Ladies presented the Admiral with a flag in recognition of his great services and as a token of gratitude. Señora Maria Sanchez de Mandeville in making the presentation said:

"Sir: Full of admiration and enthusiasm for your conduct in the deed of the 11th of June, the Argentine Ladies have decorated this banner and elected me to offer it to you in their name as a small but sincere expression of their gratitude. They hope it will accompany you in the battles you have yet to wage in defense of our country."

Brown made no effort to reply in any grand oratorical flourish, but it would be hard to find words to fit the man and the occasion better than the few he used, and which were to the effect that, he highly prized the flag and that it would never be lowered unless the mast it floated from fell, or the ship that bore it went to the bottom.

J. H. Duffy through the "Gaceta" cautions people not to believe some calumny which evil-doers were circulating about him, and promises soon to disprove it. He had some question with the captain of an American ship, wrecked on the coast of Patagonia, as to its cargo. The Argentine authorities interfered on Duffy's behalf to prevent the cargo being sold. Francis Lynch is still Captain of the

Port and has just been acting something of the censor. He has had to severely reprimand the newspapers for giving out news about the fleet which was useful to the enemy—very much like what we have been reading in the cables from Europe regularly for the last couple of years. An interesting advertisement is one which Mr. Palmer has in the "Gaceta" to the effect that he has some whitethorn quicks, just imported, for sale. The growing of this kind of tree must have proved a failure, for in my time in the country I have seen but two such trees and they are not yet twenty years old, and they have to be watered frequently in the dry weather, to even keep them alive. John Dillon the rich merchant died in September. His wife was a native or a Spaniard, and she had a great funeral Mass celebrated for him in San Telmo church. Mulhall, under the heading "Public Men of English Descent," had this to say of him: "John Dillon, Commissioner General of Immigration in the Argentine Republic, is son of an Irish gentleman of the same name, who came to Buenos Aires in 1807, and established a saladero at Montevideo, as well as a flotilla of schooners for river traffic. He was the first to start a brewery in Buenos Aires, for which purpose he brought out workmen and machinery from Europe. During the war of Independence he lent his vessels free of charge to the patriot Government, and was allowed all the privileges usually reserved at that time to native citizens." There are some who say that this John Dillon was born in Spain, and the fact that he started an extensive business in Buenos Aires in Colonial times goes to strengthen this assertion. He left two sons who will be heard of further on.

James Fitzsimmons, another of Love's "Irish Yankees," advertises a great machine he has for cleaning and grinding grain. John O'Reilly asks people to whom he owes anything and people who owe him to come and settle up accounts. There was a race held at Barracas in November and the name of the winning horse was "Shamrock," owned by Mr. Whit-

field. In view of the name of the horse we may suppose Whitfield to be an Irishman.

1827 finds Brown still the first figure of the times. If last year commenced all hope and expectancy in the one man believed to be capable of coping with the perilous situation then threatening, this year opens in all the wild enthusiasm of hopes and expectations realized. But deeds of greater glory than any so far recorded were soon to crown the hero of so many triumphs and of not one single defeat. The day of Juncal, February 9, saw destroyed a splendid Brazilian fleet and added some dozen units to the Argentine navy; the enemy Admiral was a prisoner with only two ships of a fleet of 18 sail escaping. Two weeks later, off Quilmes, another Brazilian fleet saved itself from utter destruction by flight.

The story of Brown's naval career reads more like a romance of an enchanted knight or a champion equipped with magic weapons and armor than of that of a man in real life having to do with real men. He seemed to be able to win great victories under any and all circumstances and conditions. If ever a man was a host in himself, and an unconquerable one at that, Brown was that man. No wonder that a people so patriotic, so enthusiastic and so generous-souled as the Argentinos should give way to the wildest outbursts of rejoicing when such a hero returned to them, the spreading expanse of their mighty river speckled over with the numerous trophies of his battles. Lopez describes the reception accorded to the great victor on his return from the Brazilian campaign as follows:

“The scene which took place in the city is indescribable. The whole people maddened with the fever of triumph, rushed to the streets and the river side with bands of music and banners to receive Brown, who was momentarily expected to step on shore. Numbers of skiffs had gone out to the anchorage of the squadron to receive the victor mariner, and bear him to the shore making the welkin ring with their thunderous cheers, when freshening a southern breeze the boat in which the hero was coming was borne to the beach at the Recoleta.

There rushed the multitude and instantly raising him on their shoulders carried him without his once touching earth to the Almeda.

The Port Captaincy and the adjacent streets were thronged with enthusiastic crowds; and so in the arms of the whole people who poured blessings on him he was borne to the aristocratic café, the Victoria, where he remained an hour, during which time the people acclaimed him untiringly. From there he was taken to his dwelling in a carriage drawn by the people." (V. 10, p. 111.)

Thomas and John P. Armstrong returned to Buenos Aires in February after a visit to the old country. By the same ship Dr. John Oughan sent a pamphlet accusing various personages in high places of having tried on two occasions to poison him. There is something strange in this case. Oughan, as already stated, was sent home as a man demented, and his effects sold by the English Consul. The head doctor of the hospital where he was confined refused to give a certificate that he was insane, on the contrary he stated that Dr. Oughan was then, and always had been, in his right mind. The other doctors said he was not and made out the documents to that effect. The pamphlet he published has a lot of revelations reflecting so badly on some of the high society people that a person writing in the "Gaceta" asks the public to suspend judgment on the matter for some time. There were a number of very bitter articles and letters in the papers against Oughan for some weeks, and so talked of was the subject of the pamphlet that it was commonly referred to as the "question of the day." The Doctor returned while the "question" was in its most exciting stage and was arrested at the instance of the English Minister, Lord Ponsonby. It is remarkable that all the anti-Oughan letters in the press are anonymous; but this much can be deduced from the correspondence: his chief enemies are Ponsonby, English Minister, and Parish and Passet, Consul and Vice-Consul, respectively, and that the authorities were not treating him as the law demanded, but rather as the Minister of England wanted. The case has become of such public importance

by the beginning of May that he has to be released and is given a passport to Chili. He had some very staunch friends as well as bitter enemies. Dr. John Sullivan was also interested in the case, and favored Oughan; the alleged insane Doctor showed very few signs of insanity in the manner in which he conducted his case.

People entering and leaving Buenos Aires at this time had to report their movements to the authorities—Rivadavia being at the head of affairs he was bound to have everybody and everything duly tagged and pigeon-holed. This formality, doubtless, caused a good deal of grumbling and objection for the trouble it occasioned, but it turns out to be a very useful thing as affording a record of arrivals and departures to and from Buenos Aires of people of whom otherwise we would scarcely have ever heard. Thus we find that in May, 1827, Daniel Mackey went to Entre Rios; Edward Hore and John Norris went to Chascomus; in the next month Michael Cromley and Patrick Whalen followed Hore and Norris, and two months later Matt Smith took the same course while Stephen Donnelly went to Cañalones. Earlier in the same year Frank Parker left for San Pedro, and at the same time Thomas Jones reported himself as bound for Baradero. These were undoubtedly Irishmen and were probably amongst the first of our people who went to work at any great distance outside the city; they were some of the first real camp Irish. It is true, however, that Irishmen had gone, for one cause or another, to many points in the interior some years previous to the time I write of. I have already referred to Campbell and his friends in Corrientes, and the men of Irish names in San Nicolas with Carrera and Alvear. Colonel King tells a story of meeting an Irishman and a Scotchman in San Juan in the early Twenties, and the meeting was a rather unfortunate thing for the Colonel. As his account of the affair is very short I will give it in substance here; it conveys a moral, too, that it would be no harm for us to bear in mind even in quieter and much less

strenuous times than were those of the Colonel in his Cuyo days. King had been a soldier of the Government; his side had suffered a defeat which had scattered their forces beyond reorganization; he was trying to make his way back to Buenos Aires or to get in touch with the Government army at the nearest point, and so was travelling in disguise, for he was in the enemy country. In conversation he told all this to a friendly Scotchman whose acquaintance he had made in the town, while taking his bearings. One day, the two friends having a walk, they met an Irishman, a neighbor and acquaintance of the Scot; they all became good friends and continued the walk. A discussion got up between the two neighbors which became so very hot that the Irishman challenged the Scot to fight him over it; the canny one refused, but the law was called in to regulate the matter. The American was the only witness and his evidence, as the Irishman was completely in the right, had the effect of casting the Scot in the suit. Next day the Colonel was arrested as an enemy in disguise, a sort of spy, and narrowly escaped being shot; he was detained for a long time and suffered great hardships; he was too confiding. The moral is, never tell things about yourself or anybody else that you do not need to tell.

A Major Furnier was court-martialled in August for seizing an English ship. Francis Lynch defended the Major, and did it so well that the court entirely approved Furnier's action. Thomas O'Gorman had a law-suit with his brother-in-law about the possession of a house, the court favored O'Gorman, but there is a long argument in the newspapers about it. Michael Rourke, an Irishman, was stabbed by a woman on the night of the 25th of May; but Michael did not think of telling the police about his mishap until the latter part of July, following, at which time the police explained that the lady of the knife had disappeared. Charles O'Gorman and Patrick Hamilton made distinguished passes in the Gimnasio Argentino. Mr. Duffy and two partners, Sissons and Taylor, were buying and selling

estancias, houses and lands, in their offices at 57 Chacabuco; at this time it is common to meet with advertisements for men and their wives to go work on estancias.

With the exception of the more or less well defined and, in ordinary weather, fairly passable highways to Mendoza and Cordoba the Province of Buenos Aires was, in 1828, without what we now call public roads. Shallows and safe passes on the rivers were known to the professional guides and to the engineer department of the army, but the ordinary man who left the Capital to go to Chascomus, Monte, Mercedes, Areco or Baradero, had no more idea of the course he had to take to get to his destination than had Ponce de Leon of the direct course to the Land of Perpetual Youth when he set out to find that coveted region. There was no such thing as a beaten path over the camp; there were no such things as bridges over the rivers, and the passes that last year or last month were fordable might in the meantime have so shifted or modified themselves, with heavy floods or a fall in the current, as to be no longer safe. All this made communications with the new towns and settlements not on the principal highways exceedingly slow and costly. Efforts, however, were being made by the authorities and by private enterprise to cope with these difficulties, and early in this year a meeting was held at the Sala de Comercio Argentino to devise means whereby to establish quick and regular communications with the Salado district. Mr. Duffy was one of the men who urged this scheme. The enterprise must have been very warmly taken up, for, within a few weeks, a mail passenger coach started on its first trip to Chascomus and Salado, making the journey in two days and having accommodation for twelve passengers. William Orr, who, I believe, was an Irishman, and a very well-known business man of Buenos Aires, was elected one of the Directors of the National Bank. Charles O'Donnell advertised himself as an architect and engineer who was ready to do all kinds of surveying. The Court of Commerce made a licensed broker of Adolfo O'Gorman, son of O'Gorman

who came from France. Sabino O'Donnell was professor of French in the University.

The question on which Brazil and Argentina had come to blows, although being negotiated, was still unsettled, and so sound a diplomat was Brown that he knew that one of the best arguments that Argentina could have at the peace council was a good strong navy in prime battle trim. So he set too to put his style of diplomacy in action by starting a subscription for the purchase and equipment of additions to the navy. His own subscription was one thousand dollars, and his two boys, William and Edward, then at school, gave twenty dollars each. There are not very many Irish names on the list of subscribers, but our old friend, Dr. John Oughan, is in line with one hundred and fifty dollars. The subscription call was being very well responded to when peace terms were arrived at between the two combatants. I should note before passing from this event in the Admiral's career that a short while previously the Government decreed special premiums for him and his men in the following grateful and generous terms:

The naval forces at the command of General William Brown, sent to dislodge the enemy who occupied one of the interior rivers have castigated the proud flag of Brazil and fixed the domination of the Uruguay and Parana in his campaign of sixty days; and especially in the brilliant deeds of the 8th and 9th of February, last, the Government appreciating in their full value services so distinguished and glorious, wish that the Chief of the fleet may be able to maintain the dignity and elevation to which his talents and merits raised him, and that the crews of the ships receive a proportional benefit to his. In consequence, the President of the Republic has agreed to and decrees:—Art. 1, The General-in-chief of the Fleet, Don Guillermo Brown, shall receive in public funds the sum of twenty thousand dollars as a premium to perpetuate the advantages of his merit.

James J. Grogan and R. W. Peacock joined in partnership to carry on the business of Sutton and Gregory; they had also an importing business in Valparaiso.

The four years, the record of which I close with this

chapter, were very important ones in the founding of the Irish-Argentine colony. In these years arrived in Buenos Aires the two men to whom, it is said, may be attributed the early coming of so many emigrants from the Counties of Westmeath and Wexford—John Mooney and Patrick Browne, respectively. What particularly induced Mooney to come to Buenos Aires, I have not heard, but Browne came, in the year 1827, representing a Liverpool commercial house, and replacing his elder brother who had filled that position for some couple of years previously. Browne soon went into business entirely on his own account, and was one of the first Irishmen to establish a *saladera*. It would appear he had two of these concerns, as it is stated by Mulhall that he had one at what is now the Plaza Once, while I have often heard some old Irishmen say that they worked in his *saladera* at North Barracas. Although business affairs went bad with him in his later life he was very successful in the early years, and brought out and encouraged to come out a great many of his fellow-Wexfordmen, and always befriended them loyally. Mooney settled here about the same time and soon with his neighbor and son-in-law, Patrick Bookey, were the most extensive employers of Irishmen in the country. Mooney, like Browne, brought out many men from his own neighborhood and the fame of the good progress of these of course influenced others, till within ten or fifteen years the preponderance of Westmeathmen in the Irish-Argentine colony was strikingly noticeable.

Another very well-known Irishman of those days was Bartholemew Foley, a Meathman who came in 1825. He was a man of good education and something of a leader among his countrymen. He took part with O'Brien in organizing a movement to demand Catholic Emancipation, in 1829, and in the early Forties founded a Repeal Club. When Father Fahey formed the Irish Hospital Committee, in 1848, Foley was its Secretary, and in the establishment of the Irish Convent he took an active part; he was, too, I

believe, the first Irish broker in Buenos Aires. He had two sons, a daughter of one of whom was regarded as the leading beauty of Buenos Aires in her day, and who married a nephew of the one and only Rosas. In speaking of remarkable Irishmen of that time I must not forget Patrick Donohue who walked most of the way from New York to Chili and from there across the Andes to Buenos Aires, arriving here in 1827, at the age of about forty-five years. He was a Kilkennyman and a great seannachie. He could repeat all the stories he ever heard, and had, as might be expected, from his strange travels, many wonderful experiences of his own, and related them with great picturesqueness. He reached the age of 85.

CHAPTER VII

1829-1840—O'BRIEN AND EMANCIPATION—LOCAL POLITICS—BROWN GOVERNOR—KIERNAN'S SECOND COMET—THE FIRST IRISH CHAPLAIN—THE IRISH IN BUSINESS—STRANGE AND INSTRUCTIVE NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENCE—IRISH TAX-PAYERS—COMINGS AND GOINGS OF IRISHMEN—WOOL-RAISING—LAND TENURE—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS—FATHER MICHAEL M'CAERTAN—BOOM IN CAMP BUSINESS—O'CONNELL AND GALILEO—O'BRIEN AND THE TWO DICTATORS—BROWN FARMING—TAXED IRISH—OUGHAN GOES HOME WITH A BRIDE, ETC.

POLITICAL affairs in Ireland were very much disturbed for some years previous to the date at which this chapter commences. Civil war seemed almost inevitable. The Catholics, four-fifths of the people, still ground down and outraged by the remnants of the atrocious Penal Laws still in operation were not in open rebellion, only because they had no one to lead them in a contest with the enemy, and this lack of leaders was the result solely of the hopelessness of an open struggle with the Government, under the conditions of the absolutely disarmed state of the enslaved and persecuted peasantry. Still hopeless though such a struggle might be, the people were so goaded to desperation that an explosion, the consequences of which none could foretell, was possible at any moment. The Buenos Aires papers printed alarming comments and reports from time to time on the critical conditions. Here is a couple of quotations from the "London Times": "We tremble for every breeze that blows from Ireland, and our fears are doubled by every advice we have from there. Ireland is on the point of being devoured by civil war." The article goes on to paint the horrors of the coming strife, closing in these words: "Such are the calamities inseparable from the struggle provoked by the

Orange Clubs and accepted by the Catholic multitudes who have nothing of their own to lose and who belong to a race of men ignorant and impetuous." What an indictment, unintentional, of course, of English Government in Ireland! Four-fifths of the people, the native race, having nothing of their own, and densely ignorant after six hundred years of English civilizing. Soon after this is published a report of a great meeting of Protestants in Fermanagh to protest against giving the Catholics *any more liberty*. How proud the Irish Protestants ought to be of themselves, and how fond the Irish people ought to be of them and their Church! Does all the world beside provide us anywhere with such a type of *Christians*? A great meeting of Protestants to protest against giving the Catholics *any more liberty*! And these Protestants were the followers and disciples of the Dutch usurper whom Argentine historians have set up as the great hero of human liberty, beside no less a figure than George Washington. What fools even brilliant men can make of themselves when they venture to expatiate on things they know little or nothing about!

These press reports of the horrible condition of affairs in the old country were not without their effect on the Irish residents of Buenos Aires. Our people must have felt particularly strong and proud at this period, and no doubt had many friends amongst the leading families of the Capital, for Admiral Brown, the only foreigners ever so distinguished, was then Governor of the country. Meetings were held to devise means of expressing sympathy with and lending assistance to the people at home; many of the foremost Argentines of the time identifying themselves warmly with the cause. The leader in this movement was General O'Brien, the trusted friend of San Martin, but, of course, all the prominent Irishmen of the city, Foley, Armstrong, Sheridans, the Kiernans, O'Gormans, Oughan and many others took part in it. The following circular issued in April, by O'Brien, will give an idea of how closely the progress of affairs at home was being followed by the exiles

in Buenos Aires. The circular was issued in English, but I have been able to get only a Spanish copy of it, which I translate:

Buenos Aires, April 28, 1829.

DEAR SIR: Many respectable persons, friends of the cause of the Catholics, being of the opinion that in this session of Parliament will be decided the great question of Emancipation (although for myself this is problematical), and in accordance with the desires of these many friends, and in consequence of the state of disturbance in which this country finds itself, I have determined to suspend for a few days my efforts to hasten that very important event. As it is very probable we shall know the result by the next mail, a meeting will be then called together, not only of all the Irish, but also of all the friends of civil and religious liberty, of every country and faith for the purpose of deliberating upon the most efficacious way of communicating with and helping the *Universal* Irish Association—for Mr. O'Connell and the other principal members of the society, in whom the people have placed their confidence, have changed the name of the Catholic Association, which in the future will be known by that of the *Universal* Irish Association.

The undersigned judges it necessary to give this public announcement of the cause of his present inaction, that his friends may not suppose that his zeal, in a cause which he never can abandon save with life itself, has in any way grown tepid.

The undersigned further offers to his friends and the public his gratitude for the benevolence and liberality which they have manifested on this occasion, and has the honor to be, etc.

J. T. O'BRIEN.

This movement with the purpose of lending assistance to their friends at home in their struggle for civil and religious liberty is the first indication we have of anything like organization or combination amongst the Irish of Argentina. That we hear no more of the movement from that on is explained in the fact that the Emancipation Bill, as it was popularly called, became law, and that particular question was more or less settled. The disturbed state of affairs here in Buenos Aires, to which O'Brien refers, had

surely not a little to do with the disintegration of whatever organization or combination may have been getting into form under O'Brien's leadership. There is no period in the whole history of the Republic in which its political affairs were so sad and discouraging as just at this time. Revolutions within revolutions and counter-revolutions were the order of the day in the city and the provinces, and the darkest political crime in Argentina's whole story, the shooting of Governor Dorrego by the insurgent General, Lavalle, had taken place but a few months previously. Nearly all the best men in the country seemed to have been stricken with some uncontrollable mania for rebellion and disorder. The nation was not yet twenty years old, and although nearly half that period was occupied by three fairly orderly and decidedly progressive Directorial terms, those of Pueyrredon, Rodriguez and Las Heras, the other ten years, or so, of this period knew more than twenty different Governors and Dictators. Some of these adventurers, or victims of unfortunate circumstances, as not a few of them were, scarcely assumed authority when it was wrenched from them again by another turn of the revolutionary wheel, a mutiny, a desertion or the coup of some ambitious military officer. The story is told of an American resident who, wanting to be a little facetious at the expense of the *Portefios*, during one of these quick-revolution seasons used to open his window every morning, the first thing when he had got out of bed, and inquire from the first passer-by that came the way: "Quien manda hoy?" (Who rules to-day?) The Yankee had been having his fun for some days before the knowledge of his mode of diversion came to the man who happened to be ruling that day, but just as soon as it did get to the ruling one's ears the American was left no longer in doubt, for he got a polite but very imperative order to be off Argentine territory before sunset or take the consequences. He slept that night on an English gunboat out on the river.

At the period of O'Brien's circular political affairs had

hardly anything more settled or permanent about them than in the days of the American's curiosity. Failures for some few years before this by various leading Argentine public men to form and maintain a government had led the political group strongest at the moment in the Capital to name Admiral Brown, Provisional Governor. Brown knew absolutely nothing about party politics, and many a joke has been told as to his utter inability to see any difference between one form of government and another, much less to have any understanding as to the difference between federalists and unitarians. He was respected by all as a fine type of frank, upright citizen and good seaman, and the populace adored him for the things he had done as a sea-fighter; it was this adoration by the people which the politicians calculated on to keep their side in power. The Admiral would be Governor in the eyes of the people, but in the government, they, the politicians, would govern the Governor. Lopez dealing with the selection of Brown for Governor writes in his history, V. 10, p. 362:

“Brown was named Governor in the supposition that he was one of the great favorites of the people. So he had been, in effect, during the years of the Brazilian blockade. But neither then nor after was he anything more than a play toy, without contact with the parties or with political passions. Away from his ships Brown was in every way useless. In the streets he was to all an object of affectionate curiosity, but on land he was out of place, without footing. Nobody, in a word, capable of mounting a horse or handling a rifle would think of sacrificing himself for the political ideas of Brown. To this may be added that he was not a daring and insolent adventurer like Cochrane, but an honest sailor, brave, modest and sober-minded, almost timid in his manners; a sea-lion if you will, but better a child of the billows, a subject of Neptune opportunely thrown up by the waves on the shores of Argentina. A patriot unrivalled in the fight beneath our banner, of a nature active, flexible, enamored of the country in which

his glory was won and his future established. So destitute was he of political talents that he could never really understand whether a republican president or governor was not just the same thing as a monarch. He served our government without bothering what this or that represented, what it was then or what it was at some other time; and instead of Castilian he spoke a jargon *sui generis* in vacillating phrases that scarcely reached beyond monosyllables. One thing only had he any fear of: England and her government, and two things only did he love, the Argentine flag and his family. In the position in which the intrigues of parties had placed him he was a mystification so strange, that all, in one spontaneous accord, felt the ridiculous extravagance of the invention."

Brown did not in the least ambition the Governorship. He was too wise a man not to see that the position was hopelessly beyond the order of his talents. He probably found it the most unhappy time in all his varied career. He only accepted it in the hope that he might be useful to allay the bitter party strife that was threatening the national ruin, and he retired at once from the position when he discovered that his hopes were vain; his resignation appeared on the same day as O'Brien's circular. Although his term in the Governorship added no luster to his already great name, his satisfying none of the parties surprised or annoyed nobody, and it lessened or changed the people's veneration for him not in the least.

James McCarty commenced the year advertising a wonderful new apparatus for making soda-water which he has installed in his "Sun Tavern" at 25 de Mayo No. 15. He promises to make soda-water with this machine "superior to anything of the kind hitherto in the city." The American Consul seeks to have Daniel Kilpatrick, John Mallison and Michael Whelen arrested for having mutinied on board the American ship "Rebecca," and having carried away some of her belongings. Messrs. William Murphy and John Barra are empowered to transact all F. S. Barra's business

while he is absent in Chili. Among the fifteen land-holders named a commission to establish a rural police is Benito Lynch. Domingo Cullen of Santa Fé was on a visit to Buenos Aires, he was then high in Santafecino politics and represented his government at the National Capital where he was very heartily welcomed. This year Santiago Kiernan became chief editor of the "Gaceta Mercantil," he had been some five years on the staff of the paper and was still a very young man.

Early in March, 1830, Bernard Kiernan discovered his second comet, of which he gives a full description in the papers. It was near the most southerly nebulae, which is known as "El Sud." Kiernan was not without his opponents and jealous neighbors, and these people often gave expression to their feelings in the press of their day. But his son being the editor of the principal daily paper left him pretty much at ease in so far as answering his critics went. The following letter which he published in the "Gaceta" of March 22, will, I am sure, interest many:

Senores Editores de la Gaceta Mercantil: It came to my notice sometime since that the prediction in my almanac of an extraordinary rise in the river on the days 23, 24 and 25 of the present month has had the effect of inspiring fears of a great inundation amongst certain of the credulous and less instructed of the people. I did not, however, feel it incumbent upon me to dispel such extravagant ideas, which could in no manner be justified from the plain and unequivocal terms in which my announcement was made. But now that Senor Masotte has commenced this task I must declare that the principles which he sets out in the "Lucero" of to-day are the same as those on which I started in my calculations, and which, consequently, make his deductions correct. There is, therefore, no reason to fear any prejudicial consequences from the causes which combine to produce a tide somewhat higher than the ordinary in the days mentioned, unless the wind conspires against us. I am yours, etc.

BERNARD KIERNAN.

The second comet was a great deal talked of and written about, and Kiernan seems to have studied it very closely and

patiently; his description of it in the "British Packet" is able and comprehensive.

The first Irish Chaplain who came to the country, really as such, was Father Patrick Moran, a priest of the Archdiocese of Dublin. He had a very tedious voyage, for although he left Dublin in November he did not reach Buenos Aires till the following February. His death occurred on one 30th of April, 1830, making his term as Irish Chaplain, here, of a duration of only fourteen months. The "Gaceta" refers to his death, editorially, in the following words: "On the 30th of the month just past, Father Patrick Moran, a native of Ireland, and Chaplain to the Catholic Irish resident in this city, died. The deceased had won the sincere esteem of his fellow-countrymen for his untiring zeal in the discharge of his sacred ministry, and for his distinguished personal qualities. His loss will be very much felt, not only among his own people, but amongst many Argentines who cultivated his friendship. The burial took place on Saturday with the assistance of a numerous accompaniment." Father Burke, the old Dominican, died in '28, and soon after, within a few months, Father Moran was sent to fill his place; thus in 1828 the Irish chaplaincies really commenced, unless it be that Father Burke was sent by his Order purposely to meet the requirements of the little congregation of Irish Catholics which began to form in the city from the day that Beresford surrendered to the Portefios and Spaniards.

The lesser events of this year may be summarized as follows: James MacCarthy, the same who had the wonderful soda fountain and who was then M'Carty, has opened the hotel, "Tres Reyes" in 25 de Mayo; Grogan and Peacock have taken Edward Morgan into partnership with them; Daniel Harrington, aged 25 years, died in September; John H. Duffy seems to have gone broke as he calls all who have accounts pending with him to come to his private house to try to regulate them in a satisfactory manner; Mrs. Elena Brady died in October; Mrs. Connel

keeps her hotel still; Oscar son of Oisin is being staged again; Thomas Armstrong was one of the commission of three appointed to oversee the accounts of the National Bank; Sabino O'Donnell passed an examination in physics and mathematics for which he got a valuable premium in books and was mentioned as "surpassing." Mr. Brogan had a commercial house at Corrientes 67; Mr. Brian had one at Cuyo 243; James Coyle continues his drygoods and tailoring business; Mr. Coffey is a merchant, and Patrick Daly is a grocer. There was another Grogan in business at Piedras 43; Richard Higgins had a shop in the Recoba and also brick kilns out Flores direction; John Terril had two carpenter-shops in what are now San Martin and Florida; William Buteler's warehouse was in Piedad 130; Adolfo O'Gorman, the broker, had his office at 66 Cathedral St., now San Martin; Peter Bergin was a coach-builder at 153 Mexico; Lepper and O'Donnell, both Jameses, are physicians, and John Sullivan is a surgeon—all three Irish-born. Armstrong and Sheridan are still the big businessmen of our community.

The "Gaceta" tells how the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has proclaimed as dangerous to the peace of the realm the organization known as the "Society of the Friends of Ireland," an association of people of all the religious sects, and that in so doing he has caused great sensation. The proclamation was made just as soon as O'Connell left Dublin. Several of the old members of the Catholic Association who had separated from their old chief, seeing the coercive means adopted, have publicly declared that they will be the first to sustain the new society, and that the Duke of Cumberland deceives himself if he hopes to crush by violence the patriotic spirit of Ireland. The difference of English rule in Ireland, after 87 years seems to be that then it was only coercion, now, 1917, it is martial law. In Buenos Aires a notable difference in this connection is, that the newspapers then were friendly towards Ireland and the cause of liberty, they are now for England and massacre. Not

one of them, save "La Union" and "La Critica" had a word of protest to utter against England's shooting of the Dublin patriots last year, nor against the hanging of Casement. Indeed a special correspondent of the "Prensa," one Maetzu, went so far as to express the hope that he, Casement, would not be shown any clemency. It is scarcely unfair to suppose that something more than mere sympathy for the Allies was at the bottom of such strange principles in a republican press. The indifference and want of spirit of our people here, at the present time, which is very culpable, cannot wholly account for the attitude of the Buenos Aires press, for whatever individuals or groups of individuals, may do or neglect to do, the cause of liberty is always and everywhere the same, and should be as worthy of, at least, a fair word in Ireland as in Belgium or the *Irredenta*. There is, therefore, to my mind, no accounting for the action of the Buenos Aires press in regard to the treatment of the Irish patriots by England, in the recent rebellion, save that said press has been secured to the necessary extent as a part of the English Foreign Service. I do not desire even to hint that the editors have been taken in hand and a quid pro quo arrangement made, but we all know how the constant and very useful friendship of certain able Argentine lawyers has been secured. There was no price fixed beforehand for Padilla, Peña and Lima, but they were good and honored pensioners of the English Government from the day of the betrayal of their country to the day of their death. There are dozens of ways of buying the *sympathy* and service of a newspaper besides the plain and rather unrefined one of going into the office and counting out the price in gold sovereigns on the editor's or manager's desk. But to return to my theme, the newspapers of Buenos Aires, in 1890, were friendly to the cause of Irish liberty, in 1916 their friendship was for England and Russia, the destroyers of the liberties of more people than all the other nations of the world since Rome fell.

For our people the chief event of the next year was the

coming of Father Patrick J. O'Gorman, as Chaplain. The Irish community was now of considerable importance and increasing rapidly. The colony of Irish sought to be established in Brazil, a little while before, had resulted in failure, and a number of the colonists had come on to Buenos Aires where so many of their countrymen were in very prosperous circumstances, and where a much more agreeable climate awaited them. At this time, too, there was much more shipping from the United States to the River Plate ports than there was from any of the European countries, and hardly one of these ships came that did not bring Irish immigrants. But by far the greater part of such immigrants came direct from the homeland, via Liverpool. Archbishop Murray must have been very well aware of the importance and increasing growth of the Irish community here, for although the Chaplain previously supplied it was fated to live in his new field of endeavor but a little more than a year, the good Primate was prompt in providing another pastor for the flock. Father O'Gorman's mission must have been an exceedingly laborious one, for apart from a very large congregation scattered throughout the various parishes of the city, a considerable number of his people had already gone to the camp districts, especially southward. He was not many months in his new scene of activity when some good people sought to make trouble for him, because of his not attending to the grave the funeral of a Mr. E. Chambers. It seems that Mr. Chambers had become converted to the Catholic belief and had been attended by Father O'Gorman; the burial, however, was made in the Protestant cemetery and the Chaplain declined to officiate there. The family and some friends of the deceased gentleman could not understand this scrupulosity on the priest's part and so complained of his "bigotry" that he had to write to the press explaining his position; there was quite a little hub-bub about the matter.

Thomas Armstrong failed in business, there used to be crises then, too, and is accused in the newspapers by Bernard

Jones with fraud; Armstrong sues Jones to the courts to prove his charges, and there is a tedious law-suit and lots of correspondence in the papers on the matter. Admiral Brown was made a Director of the National Bank; Mrs. O'Gorman's house was up for sale, for the payment of taxes owing on it; James MacIntire went to Ranchos; and Francis Carey to Cordoba; John Gorman arrived from Montevideo, and Thomas Egan from Brazil; James Fitzsimmon returned from Cordoba and John Sullivan, aged 30 years, died. James Kerney went to Paysandú, and Dr. Oughan, Admiral Brown and Grogan, Peacock and Morgan subscribed to the fund for the erecting of an iron railing along the beach side of the Almeda. This street, then the promenade of the city, now Paseo de Julio, was along the beach, or fore-shore, and was reached by the inflow of high tides, it was very dangerous in case of run-away horses, as also for pedestrians after dark, hence the necessity of putting up a railing on the open side. There is an article in the "Lucero" on English intolerance in Ireland which draws an anonymous reply in the "Gaceta"; it is interesting to see how much alike the quarrels then and now are; the "Lucero" writer seems to be very well informed. The President of the Medical Faculty and Dr. Oughan have a correspondence in the press on the latter's form of operation for the cure of lythotrisia. Jones and Armstrong still keep up their charges and counter-charges as to the failure of the latter. It is amusing, and somewhat curious, to read the things that are treated of in the correspondence columns of the papers in those days. Everybody who has anything to complain of or to explain seems to turn to the newspapers with it, and sometimes even very serious charges are made therein. Whether or not such correspondence would be more interesting and edifying than the war-news which fills the newspapers of the present day is a question not for me to judge, but I am certain a few columns of that kind of matter would have more readers than the copious opinions of the innumerable war experts, who never

warred, except with the pen, which are served up to us daily in these times of endless cant and falsehood.

Santiago Kiernan begins the year 1832 with a letter defending his father, who is out of town, from some criticisms in the "Lucero." In a few days afterwards he returns to the combat and gives the *omnisapienti* Señor De Angelis some lively handling. Jones and Armstrong, too, are in their respective trenches still and handling their gray-goose quill *ametralladoras* with great spirit and constancy, and except for the comings and goings of a few of our people there is very little else to be recorded this year. Rosas has been district military commander now for a couple of years and in the contributions made to the upkeep of his army I find a few Irish names, for fairly important sums. These people were evidently in the stock raising business at that time. Don Juan Manuel had already the title of "Restorer of the Laws," and was then building up the army which kept him for twenty years not alone the restorer of the laws but to all intents and purposes the very law itself. Here are some of the names I find in the list of contributors to the maintenance of the restoring army: Martin Brien, \$179; Thomas Sullivan, \$760; John Moore, \$100; Neal McCulloch, \$400; Thomas Sullivan, again, \$600; Francis Mahon, \$1000.

John H. Duffy went to Arroyo de la China, John Butler went to San Antonio de Areco, as did also William Like (Locke?). John B. Kiernan, son of the Astronomer, went to Soriano, Uruguay; Peter Sheridan visited Montevideo, John Carey went to Las Vacas and Michael Hines to Colonia; while James Breslin and Patrick Locke went to Mercedes; J. H. Duffy had scarcely returned to town when he set off again for Colonia, this is the man who went broke a little while ago; James Kearney has made another trip to Paysandú. Dr. Oughan, Michael Bourke, Nicholas Casey and Wm. Murphy went home. Charles Reilly and John Lahy came up from Montevideo, and Patrick Whelehan arrived from Liverpool; William Fitzgerald and Patrick

Locke came in from Mercedes. The Government appointed Peter Sheridan inspector of the Riachuelo; Bernard O'Neill died in June and was buried from Santa Lucia Church, he was a County Meath man.

It will be seen from the foregoing, amongst other things, that already people were beginning to find their way a considerable distance into the camp. San Antonio was a very old settlement and quite safe from Indians; not so, however, Mercedes which up to this time was called the "Guardia de Lujan," and was the outpost of western civilization. But our people then, and for some time afterwards, tended to the Southern camps.

By the year 1833 many of the strong merchants of the city had gone in for investing in land, and Gowland and Thwaite as well as Sheridan and Harrat were raising stock on a large scale; Sheridan had also at this time a saladera.

Amongst the arrivals noted are John D. Murphy, Thomas MacLoughlin, James and Patrick McLean. Michael Kinnely is selling cattle in Lujan. Henry Kenedy, Robert Morgan and Sam McLean left for the United States, and Richard Murphy for Montevideo.

To the patriotic subscriptions raised in May for the defraying of the expenses in connection with the celebration of the National Feast, Wm. Brown, Wm. Morris, James Sheridan, Edward Brown and Francis Mahon contributed. The "Reindeer" sailed from Buenos Aires for Cork early in the year. John H. Bayley, a well-known business man, died in June and was buried from the Merced Church. Armstrong and Jones are still in their trenches and no sign of peace, for the courts have said nothing yet as to who is right or who is wrong; the courts, even then, had an easy-going way with them. James Kiernan, manager and editor of the "Gaceta Mercantil," has been dealing so strenuously with his literary opponents that the authorities had to remind him that although there is no law regulating what a newspaper may say about people, there is one that takes into account what it may not say. He

makes no objection to being called to order, but explains that the complainants provoked him into letting them hear things about themselves which were not to their liking; the paper was then the Government organ and had, of course, to conduct itself with due decorum and gravity. Francis Lynch, owing to bad health, had to resign his captaincy of the port. The very well-known American estanciero, Samuel B. Hale, in whose employ so many of the old Irish sheep-farmers passed some of their first years, landed in Buenos Aires in December. Hale was very friendly to the Irish and was a generous subscriber always to Irish collections and charitable funds. Admiral Brown started another public subscription, this time to raise funds for the repairing of and making transitable the Barracas road, he was greatly interested in such works and improvements, and was remarkable for keeping his own grounds with such care and taste.

1884. Dr. Lepper is one of the commission of inspectors of hospitals and prisons. Richard Duffy, his wife and three children went to Entre Rios early in the year; William Kelly, William Fleming, John Sullivan and Patrick McLean and his wife went to Montevideo about the same time. Messrs. Doherty, Green, Mooney, Hayden and Dowling arrived in Buenos Aires. Admiral Brown is reported as starting on a trip home and Dr. Oughan has returned once more to Argentina.

The "Gaceta" gives a long account of a famous scene in the English Commons wherein the Prime Minister, to justify his rigorous coercive measures in Ireland, said that the Irish members told him privately that they approved these measures. O'Connell demanded the names of these Irish members; the minister refused to give them; O'Connell then asked if he himself, O'Connell, was one of them, Altrop replied, "No"; Sheil, with reference to himself, repeated O'Connell's questions; the minister replied, "Yes"; Sheil, in the solemnest manner replied that his, the Prime Minister's, words were scandalously false. There was great

uproar, and to prevent a duel both members were placed under arrest. On the session being resumed O'Connell demanded an inquiry into the Prime Minister's accusations and in due time the inquirers reported that there was not the slightest foundation for the accusations made by the Prime Minister. Altrop publicly admitted his fault in making the charges, Sheil accepted, as what else could he do? English honor and "gentlemanliness" was not alone fully vindicated but considerably enhanced by the incident; it was one more proof of the Englishman's "love of justice and fair play," and, I suppose, "good sportsmanship"—everything that happens to an Englishman proves this, to the English.

The export of wool in 1835 is estimated roundly at 150,000 arrobas, or nearly four million pounds. It was probably, for causes not necessary to consider here, a little more; but this is a very respectable figure, considering that practically the whole of this amount came from the comparatively small district included in three or four parishes, south-west of Buenos Aires. The supplying of such a volume of wool means that something about one million of the sheep of those days must have been shorn. Which fact will further imply the existence of some five or six hundred flocks of the ordinary size, and so fixes the industry as already very thoroughly established. The system of letting out flocks and herds on part ownership to suitable men who would undertake their care and management was in vogue, as will be seen by an advertisement which I will reproduce presently. Land-owners of Irish name are rarely to be met with in these years, and when occasionally found are mostly those of families long settled in the country. This reluctance of foreign-born residents to invest their capital or savings in land can, I think, be accounted for by the impossibility of procuring anything like a safe title to such lands. For the first thirty years, or more, of the Republic laws were made with extraordinary recklessness in the matter of granting lands and making and unmaking

title deeds. So much was this the case that lands sold and guaranteed by one government were sometimes seized and resold or regranted by a succeeding government with little or no regard for the rights of the party who had invested, perhaps, in good faith. These corrupt and destructive land enactments were continued, from time to time, even to the Rosas regime, and very few Irishmen ventured to make purchases of land before the middle Forties, when Rosas began to settle down to something like a reasonable and just governor. These years, however, of the early Thirties saw the raising of wool a very profitable industry; one that required little special training and in which advanced education and scientific knowledge were by no means essentials to success. What the good sheep-farmer needed first and most were good health, strong hands, a courageous heart and a patient, steady mind. No other employment which the country afforded was so suitable to the Irish immigrant fresh, as he was, in nine cases out of ten, from the farms of his native land. The decay of Irish industries had commenced a generation previously, with the passage of the infamous act of Union; there were no public schools in Ireland throughout that generation, so that the Irishmen who came to Buenos Aires in these years were generally poorly fitted for any occupation other than sheep-farming; but they were richly possessed of all the qualities which success in that line of activity chiefly demanded. The insecurity of titles to which I have referred, and the very low rents at which land could be obtained then, made it safer and easier for men not knowing the language, laws, or customs of the country very well to rent so much land as they might need, by the year, or for some short term of years, or to form a partnership with some extensive land-owner on the principle of one-half or one-third ownership in a certain number of sheep or cattle, or both combined, as the case might be, with loss or gain as the year might result, in proportion to investment. An advertisement which Don Patricio Lynch has in the "Gaceta"

will give the reader a better idea of conditions in this phase of the stock industry than any conclusions I can arrive at eighty years after. The advertisement is dated, June, 1836:

The undersigned begs to make known to his friends and those whom this notice may interest: That thirty leagues to the north of the Capital he possesses an estate of three leagues of the best lands, well watered, that are in the province. On which lands, before the drought, were perfectly maintained more than twelve thousand head of cattle, two thousand head of horses and eight thousand sheep. Which has, moreover, a comfortable flat-roofed house, sheds, herdsmen's houses, plantations, good pens of hard wood posts (fiandubay) and a large stock-enclosure (potrero) in which more than six thousand animals can safely be kept, in which stock and in horses and sheep he has invested nearly \$150,000. But being short of resources to fully stock these, his lands, with horn cattle and having other lands sufficient for the stock he has, he invites such gentlemen as desire to employ their funds in the lucrative business of pasturage, to supply him, on the terms of half the products and increase, six thousand head of cattle; being to the sole account of the proposer all costs, ordinary and extraordinary, of the care and working of the establishment, and all horses necessary therefor, as also all sheep to be killed for the use of the employees of the estate. Whoever may wish to treat on this matter will please write to Talcahuana St., No. 16, explaining where such person can be dealt with.

PATRICIO LYNCH.

Mr. Lynch was typical of the large land-owners of his time in every way, save that his business terms were less liberal than most of them, which possibly accounts for his having had to advertise for investors. At this time there was a considerable emigration of our people from here to Uruguay. Patrick Hamilton had his stock farm in Magdalena; Dr. O'Donnell was in charge of the scarlatina hospital and reported four deaths out of one hundred and forty-four cases treated. He further reports that scarlatina is a benign disease, and he gives some very interesting instructions for its treatment. It is not exclusively a children's malady as was popularly believed, for he mentions

a person sixty years of age who was then suffering from it. A strange news item which I met in one of the papers at this time, and which for its novelty may be worth mentioning, was the account of a renegade priest, named Crotty, who had been saying Mass in English in the town of Birr. Soupers, pervert-evangelizers and all kinds of anti-Catholic freaks were greatly in demand by the Protestant Church societies then.

In 1837 Dr. John Oughan's case was again in the courts and was again decided against him. The English high courts gave Oughan a decree against certain Englishmen in Buenos Aires, but the authorities here refused to execute the judgment of the foreign court. The Doctor appealed to the highest authority, and it is this appeal that is decided now, in a decree signed by Rosas himself, and refusing Oughan's demand. James Kenny and John and George Kearns started for Mercedes early this year; James Dempsey arrived from Uruguay. The "Strangers Guide" (Guia de Forasteros), a scarce but very interesting little business directory, mentions the following amongst the various classes of business men in the city in 1837. It will be noticed that the Irish-Argentine families of O'Gorman and O'Donnell are becoming as prominent in the business life of the Capital as the Lynches were some years earlier. One of the licensed public surveyors is Charles O'Donnell; Sabino O'Donnell is one of the doctors of the men's hospital; Charles is also Secretary of the National University, while its second director is Don Sabino; Don Carlos also held the office of Secretary of the Inspection of Schools. At the same time the assistant preceptor of Concepcion College was Joseph Mary O'Donnell and Angel O'Donnell was in charge of the Government School at Guardia del Monte. Dr. Patricio O'Gorman is one of the practitioners in the Academy of Jurisprudence; Don Carlos O'Gorman is first lieutenant in the 5th Regiment of Mounted Militia. Dr. Patrick O'Gorman is the Irish Chaplain and officiates in the Merced Church. Adolfo O'Gorman is dealing in

wool, hides, etc. Drs. Lepper, Oughan and O'Donnell are still practicing their professions. Francis Kearney was standard-bearer to the First Regiment of Mounted Militia; Charles Fitzgerald was second lieutenant in the Fourth Regiment of Mounted Militia. The Bankers Society of Buenos Aires was presided over this year by Manuel Lynch; William Buteler was in the exporting business as well as the carrying trade; John Burke had a book-shop in Paz St., No. 8; Martin Brien had a liquor store in Corrientes St. and a wine store in 25 de Mayo; Daniel Blake had a saddlery in University St. (Bolivar); Patrick Bookey had a morocco factory in Cordoba St.; James Coyle still keeps his high-class tailoring business; Robert Collins has his stable yard in Cuyo St.; James Carr has a brewery at 11 Federation St.; James Dunleavy has coaches and horses for hire in Cuyo St.; Peter Duffy works his carpentry at Peru 49; Bart. Fleming's jewelry shop was in Representante St.; Patrick Fleming's grocery store is in Cangallo, at No. 11; James Farrell has a liquor shop at 9 Federation St.; Robert Hines keeps a grocery store in Piedad St.; Bautista Higgins, probably a son of Richard the brick-maker, has an almacén in Federation St.; John Kennedy still keeps his saddlery going in Piedad; Francis Lynch has a grocery at 92 Esmeralda St.; Manuel Lynch & Co. have their stores on the Alameda; Thomas Liddle had a boot shop and Samuel Lyons a commission agency; Patrick Moore does all kinds of carpentry at his shop in University St.; William Morris is a coachbuilder and Thomas, brothers I suppose, is a carpenter; James O'Neill has a liquor store, John Shannon has two cooperages, and William Corcoran is making and repairing watches at 92 Cangallo.

There was a second Irish priest in Buenos Aires at this time who used to officiate at San Roque Chapel; his name was Michael M'Cartan. Father M'Cartan was a Parish Priest in the County Armagh who had some trouble with his Bishop on account of which he left Ireland. He seems to have been even then of a somewhat unsettled disposition,

for he traveled in England, North America, the West Indies and Chili before coming to Argentina. He generally differed with the church authorities everywhere he went, finally ending up by believing that he was the prophet, Michael, foretold by Daniel, as he used to say, for the destruction of all church authorities. He wrote a book to prove that he was the aforesaid prophet, but the only thing that the two little volumes prove is that the poor man was as mad as a March hare. He came here in '85 and remained for a few years, went up to Entre Rios and Brazil where he knocked about for some years and returned to Buenos Aires. Father Fahey, whom he always called, Mr. Fahey, helped to support him for years before that truly good man died. The following sketch of his life published in the "Standard," June 24, 1876, will help to explain his little book for anyone who may have fallen in with it:

We regret to announce the demise of an eccentric old clergyman well known to our readers during the last ten years, Rev. Michael McCartan, who was born near Belfast in 1798, and came to South America over forty years ago. His first charge was as cura at Gualeguaychu, from which place he was banished for extreme political opinions. For some years he was P. P. of Alegrete, Rio Grande do Sul, and afterwards went to Cuba and the Southern States as tutor in a planter's family. Later on he was assistant cura in a town in Chili from which he crossed over to San Luis, in this Republic. About 1862 he arrived in Buenos Aires and came direct to our office to warn us that the end of the world was at hand. His numerous vicissitudes and trials had affected his mind. This explanation is only just to the memory of the deceased gentleman, as people unduly censured him for some pamphlets which ought not to have been printed. During the last year he was quite lucid, and Canon Dillon gave him hospitality and kindly attended him in his closing days. He died calmly and with perfect resignation, and his funeral will take place to-day from Archdeacon Dillon's residence, 235 Corrientas, at half past twelve.

The published list of tax-payers for the year 1888 is a very long one, and although I have gone through it very carefully I have been able to find very few Irish names in

it. The list was made up from Quilmes, Ensenada, Moron, Conchas, San Isidro, San Vicente, San Jose de Flores, Capilla del Sañor, San Antonio de Areco, Pilar, Lujan, Cañuelas, Baradero, San Pedro, San Nicolas, Arrecifes, Pergamino, Salto, Rojas, Ranchos, Fortin de Areco, and Matanzas. In Chascomus Jaime Collins and Santiago Onil are taxed. Onil is almost surely O'Neill—the public officials of those days spelt foreign names very badly. Peter Joseph Sullivan paid taxes in Magdalena to the amount of \$27 and in Navarro George Keen paid \$212. These tax lists are not absolutely sure proofs as to the ownership or non-ownership of lands in the districts reported from, for it was possible to run a year or two in arrears. But very few of our people, who, if landowners, would be somewhat new as such, would be likely to let their new purchases run into the dangers of arrears of taxes. It is thus quite safe to conclude that practically all the Irish people engaged then in sheep-farming were carrying on their industry on rented lands. The same conditions seemingly prevailed in the city, for although there is a comparatively large number of Irish people to be found engaged in business, but a few Irish names can be met with in the tax lists. It would seem that seventy-five years ago there were far more Irishmen and Irish-Argentines engaged in shopkeeping and as artisans in Buenos Aires than there are at the present time. The great boom in sheep-farming which began in the early Thirties attracted most of the artisan and small businessmen among our people to the camp, and from about 1840 on for fifty years, few Irishmen on arriving in Argentina thought of seeking any other means of livelihood. As indicating, to some extent, the importance with which sheep-farming was regarded then I may instance the fact that, two books published on the continent of Europe, and treating of sheep-breeding, were translated and widely advertised in Buenos Aires. The Government, too, purchased a large number of bred sheep in Europe and the United States at this time in order to improve the local breed—in all more

than 2500. Apart from Chascomus and a few parishes thereabout, which were the first districts to which Irishmen gathered in any considerable numbers, Uruguay and Entre Rios seem to have been the regions that had most attraction for our people in the years we are now come to. Thus I find Hanlon, Morris, Madden, White and O'Neill going to Montevideo, and Kenny, Croft, and Nugent going to Entre Rios, and such reports occur with great frequency.

Advertisements for men and their wives who would be willing to go out to work at estancias and dairies were very common. Amongst others Thomas Galbraith had a dairy with all utensils and one hundred cows which he wanted some man and his wife to go out and run for him. John Downey was out buying cattle for saladera use and John Dougherty had registered as going to Salto.

The "Gaceta" keeps its Irish readers well posted on home affairs and is particularly careful in recording O'Connell's movements and pronouncements. It gives a long report of his suspension from the English Commons in connection with his having accused some committee of the Lords of perjury. The matter was brought before the Commons and a vote taken as to whether O'Connell was justified in his accusation. O'Connell must have proved his case overwhelmingly and the perjury must have been most open and glaring, for there was a majority against him of only nine. The Speaker then proceeded to inform him that his assertions were false as the House had so decided by a majority. Whereupon O'Connell retorted that the judges who tried Galileo found that he was wrong in his statement that the earth revolved on its axis, and, I suppose, on that account it ceased to go round. But for all Dan had to get out, and the first assembly of "gentlemen" in the world was solemnly satisfied that its honor was utterly immaculate.

General John O'Brien was now a resident of Peru wherein the famous Dictator, Santa Cruz, ruled. As will be seen, this Santa Cruz was one of the most hated of the Argentine Dictator's many and unconditionally execrated

enemies. He, however, knowing that O'Brien was about to make a visit to his native land, and that he would have to pass through Buenos Aires on his journey, took advantage of the happy chance of so distinguished a personage passing from one capital to the other to have a message of conciliation conveyed to Rosas. Most men conversant with the ways of Don Juan Manuel Rosas would beg to be held excused of the honor of being intermediary in any way between the two Dictators. O'Brien, however, undertook the mission as lightly as though it were only the carrying of a message from a lover to his sweetheart. A strange thing in the suspicious and merciless nature of Rosas is, that although Brown and O'Brien were trusted friends of his worst and bitterest enemies he always respected them and had confidence in their honor and rectitude. He, nevertheless, imprisoned O'Brien for daring to bring him the message from the other Dictator. Most likely had O'Brien refused to be the bearer of the note he would have been placed under lock and key, if not shot, by the Peruvian gentleman. It is said that Manuelita saved O'Brien's life, but more about this matter in the next chapter.

Admiral Brown is farming at this time for he is reported as selling fat cattle at Quilmes. Mrs. Murtagh, one daughter and a Miss Brigid Murtagh left for Montevideo; William Brennan went to Rio, as did also Mary Moore, her five children and Mary Murphy; Edward Gahan crossed over to Valparaiso. All that was in '89, and the next year Patrick Garaghan was located in the parish of San Vicente and was selling fat cattle. Martin Brien, William Brown, Burke, Byrne, Buteler, Brown, Colman, Dowling, Downes, Dogan, Dillon, Ford, Fleming, Kiernan, seven Lynches, two O'Gormans and O'Neil paid property taxes this year, mostly in the city.

Dr. John Oughan is about to return once more to Ireland; he is taking with him a wife this time. Oughan was considered a very distinguished member of his profession and as a surgeon made some discoveries that gained him

fame even on the Continent. The president of the Tribune of Medicine of Buenos Aires had a correspondence with him in the "Gaceta" on this subject in 1831. He mentions the Consul General of France making inquiries as to the Doctor's surgical operations and after making some flattering allusions to his recognized talents as a surgeon asks him to explain the operation for the benefit of the Consul, adding, "and in this way augment your great services to humanity." Oughan, of course, complied with the request of the head of the Medical Faculty. The operation mentioned was first performed in 1820, and a Dr. Donnelly was Oughan's assistant in the work. There was a man in Buenos Aires at this time with the peculiar name of Remedios (Remedies) Fitzgerald, he was probably a son of some of Beresford's escaped soldiers and an Argentine mother.

Although at the present time we seldom or never hear of any Irish people emigrating to Brazil there was a very constant coming and going between this port and Rio de Janeiro seventy-five years ago. Most of the Irish colony established in that country about 1830 came afterwards to Argentina, but it seems not a few of them returned again to the then Empire. Reports of arrivals from and departures for Rio of people of Irish name are constant in the official paper in the Thirties.

A Mr. McCann, a Dublin man, who visited Buenos Aires in the year 1842 on behalf of a commercial firm in Liverpool, wrote a book ("2000 Miles' Ride") after his return home, on his travels in Argentina, in which he says, on the authority of Father Fahey, that Irish residents "including all ages and sexes" numbered about 3500, before the days of the Anglo-French blockade of Buenos Aires, 1841, and he mentions that at least three-fourths of these were from Westmeath. It may be objected that this statement is somewhat self-contradictory as Father Fahey had not yet arrived in Buenos Aires at the date mentioned, but Father O'Gorman was here and may have made a census of his flock which Father Fahey made use of. However

this may be, McCann sets down the statement in his book, and the only exception I would be inclined to take to his figures is that they were too conservative. Previous to the fall of Rosas, in 1852, and for some time after Irish women were very scarce in Argentina, compared with Irish men, and as a consequence more than a few Irishmen married into Argentine or other non-Irish families; the children of such marriages would have grown up as Argentines, and speaking the National language would be so much out of touch with the Irish Chaplain as, naturally, not to be enumerated amongst his flock. However, we may take the number of our people in 1840 as not less than 3500.

CHAPTER VIII

ROSAS—McCANN'S ACCOUNT—NEWSPAPER ITEMS—PUBLIC CONTRIBUTORS—
FAMINE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS—
ADVENTURES IN FANCY AND FACT—FATHER MICHAEL GANNON—FATHER
FAHEY'S LETTER ON ROSAS—EXPLANATIONS AND COMMENTS.

THE Argentine people have many men of great fame, and they are very fond of preserving the memory of the great ones of their country. All who know anything know that Solis was the first European to see their great river, that Garay founded their now great capital, that Liniers is the hero of the country's salvation from the English, that San Martin is first amongst its liberators, and is its greatest military genius, that Urquiza and Mitre did great deeds in its struggle towards real freedom and power. But while all these and many other doers of transcendental deeds are patriotically remembered, and duly honored, a man who has not left, by any means, a good or glorious name behind him, and who disappeared from the grim stage of his activities a couple of generations ago is really more in the people's minds and on their tongues to this day than any of the great ones named, and this man was Don Juan Manuel Rosas—"The Dictator."

No striking public memorials, nor feelings of patriotic love have kept alive this strange interest in Rosas. The governments which have succeeded him have taken pains that it should be otherwise. Not a street or alley in all the great capital city bears his name, and streets that were named in his honor while he was in power were at once rebaptized when his banishment was effected. His residence, with an intolerance as stupid and as chauvinistic as anything in his own most lunatic decrees, was demolished some years ago

with all the circumstance and preparation of a grand public celebration. As if the destruction of a modest dwelling-house in the suburbs of Buenos Aires was an act to insure honest and representative government for all time to the Republic. The house wherein the great Dictator lived was as much a historic landmark as the house wherein San Martin was born, and it might be preserved, at least, with as much public usefulness as are preserved the instruments of torture which we see in the museums, and which have a peculiar interest for most people.

Long before I took any particular interest in Argentine history I had heard so much about Rosas from the old Irish residents that I some way regarded him as a kind of George Washington; if not the very "Father of his country," certainly something not very far from it. No other Argentine—no other man, save Father Fahey, alone, was so much in their conversations and reminiscences. But although they seemed to regard him favorably it was easy to understand that he was not all goodness. Such expressions as, "he wasn't half as bad as they made out he was"—"often he couldn't help doing what he did"—"Weren't they always looking for a chance to kill him," and many similar in tone suggested that there was another side to the story. What few natives or criollos I knew spoke of Don Juan Manuel with still greater admiration and much more detail. All had anecdotes and tales to tell about him, some of these decidedly terrifying, but I never heard any accounts of his brutality and heartlessness from the old Irish settlers. It is not, however, in the traditions of the common people, that Rosas holds largest place. No man has been so much studied and written about by Argentines. Books, essays, poems and treatises dealing with Rosas and his times are almost innumerable. These facts, then, and the circumstance that he ruled the state—like the French king, was the state—for some twenty years when Irish emigration to Argentina was in its youthful vigor impose on me the task of telling my readers who and what this remarkable man was, in so

far as I have been able to see and understand him. The man that so many people talked about and are still talking of must be of interest to a great many.

Rosas was sprung from parents of pure Spanish blood, long settled in South America. He was the second born of a family of twenty children, and the oldest of the three of these who were males. When a youth, his mother, who was an exceedingly shrewd and strong-willed woman, ordered him one day to beg somebody's pardon for some fault he had committed, the future dictator refused to so humble himself, and was taken by the ear and locked in a room on a diet of bread and water with the information that his release would come with his due submission to authority. Docility was evidently not one of the boy's qualities, for that night he contrived to escape from his captivity, stripping himself naked and leaving a note in pencil script to the effect that he was taking nothing with him except what was entirely his own. As well as the spirit of unbending independence there is shown a touch of the humor in this little incident which was a prominent trait of his character to the end. He got to the house of his cousins, the Anchorenas, procured some clothes, and employment on an estancia in the South. He did not break off friendly relations with his mother on account of what had happened, but always remained a most respectful and affectionate son.

The stories that are told of his prowess as a horseman are endless and wonderful. In the camp he was a gaucho of the gauchos, became very wealthy and a sort of casique among the peones and half-Indians in all the parishes from Quilmes to the Salado. He was appointed commander of the rural militia and in 1820 lent a very useful hand in the defense of Buenos Aires against the invading hosts of malcontents and marauders from Sante Fé and the trans-Plate provinces. From this on he was gaining in the esteem of the city politicians and leaders. If he had any set principles in local politics at the time they were likely federative, or more accurately, anti-Rivadavian. The revolution

against the government of Dorrego and the murderous execution of that brave if frivolous patriot fixed for ever more his principles. He was in the field against the revolutionaries at the time. The defeat at Navarro was only important in that Dorrego was brutally put to death by Lavalle. Had he, Dorrego, been spared it is more than likely there would never have been a Dictator Rosas; as it was it worked the ruin of the Rivadavian or Unitarian party and inflicted on the country a most horrible tyranny for more than twenty years. Rosas reorganized the scattered forces of the fallen Governor, in a short while crushed the revolution, and with a good army at his back became himself the strongest man in all the country. From 1829 till February 1852 he was as absolute in the government of the Province of Buenos Aires, and for much of that time throughout the whole nation, as he wished to be. To say that he ruled with a rod of iron would be to use a hackneyed phrase merely suggestive of severe firmness. In truth he ruled by ruse and fraud, and bribe, and every cruel and ignoble means at the disposal of a cunning, well financed and utterly unscrupulous man.

When he came to power he came at the head of a strong army, an army that feared and loved him. It was composed largely of gauchos, the wild half-civilized mixed breeds from the great estancias and small towns between Buenos Aires city and the Indian lands. They were expert horsemen, hardy and enduring as Cossacks, and fearless and cruel as Rosas himself. He was wise enough to know that without a strong and loyal army his term of power would be as ephemeral as that of any of the many governors who had gone before him. So his purpose was from the beginning to see that his trusty forces and affectionate followers should have no reason to doubt of the wisdom of the manner in which they had cast their allegiance. No army in Argentina was ever, before or since, as well cared and generously rewarded. As one instance of the many recorded to this effect I will give this little one: Lavalle, Rosas' chief

enemy, was shot accidentally, pretty much in the manner that Sergeant Brett was killed in the attack on the Manchester police van, and for which three Irishmen were hanged. He, Lavalle, heard a rough knocking at the door of the house he was staying in and left his room to investigate the matter, a soldier, impatient at the delay in responding to his call, fired a rifle through the lock mortally wounding the Unitarian General. The soldier did not even know it was Lavalle he had killed, but Rosas felt he had done such a worthy thing that he decreed him at once high rank as a soldier, a large monthly salary with extras, and three square leagues of land! In like manner as England formed her "faithful garrison" in Ireland did Don Juan Manuel make it profitable to be one of his faithful. Of course nobody would receive any government patronage except a proved friend. But jobs and emoluments not being in sufficient abundance, although ever on the increase, to secure an absolutely safe number of ardent loyalists, the goods and belongings of banished or fugitive political opponents were at the disposal of the great "Restorer of the Laws," and with a judicious use of these many more loyal and sincere admirers were enlisted. Confiscations and nullifications became the order of the day, till finally even the Sacraments of the Church were denied to the non-federalists, for the "Restorer" made himself head of the Church also, in so far as his political opponents were to be dealt with. (See Ramos Mexia's *Rosas and His Times*.) Hardly anyone could be sure of life or liberty in Buenos Aires during these years of the real reign of terror. For enemies, of course, there was scarcely any quarter, and friends if they once became suspect were in a worse plight still, their names were given to the dread Mazorca, which meant not a formal death decree, with the right to the consolations of religion, but death sudden and unprovided. In view of these impressive political arrangements it is not wonderful that Don Juan Manuel had quite a strong following, and a fairly law-abiding and submissive citizenship.

Red was the official color, light blue that of the opposition. The society "Popular Restorer" was the non-official loyal upholder of the "Illustrious Restorer" and they had a sort of executive section which was called the "Mazorca." This section had many duties to perform, the most important one being to cut the throats, or otherwise knife, all such as the authorities of the society marked out as objectionable or suspicious. Amongst the many notable men done to death by this body was a Colonel Lynch. Some of their lesser duties were to enter the houses of families whose men folk were in exile or enlisted with the Unitarian forces in rebellion, and maltreat the women and smash up the furniture, especially if it had anything of the banned color, blue, about it. On account of this practice on the part of the Mazorca people began to paint their doors, windows and household belongings, red, so that almost everything was red in Buenos Aires. A not very dissimilar thing took place in Philadelphia but a little while before, in the days of the savage, anti-Catholic riots there. Amongst the common depredations of the rioters was the burning of houses in which Catholics lived. Oftentimes the owners of such houses were Protestants and, of course, not objectionable to the Knownothings, so the safeguard of writing, in large letters, on the doors of such houses: "This house belongs to Protestants," was promptly and very effectively had recourse to. And it was as evil for the house in the city of the Brotherly Love which did not show that device as it was for the dwelling in the town of the Good Airs that had any but the orthodox colors on its windows or doors.

Another duty of the Mazorca was to spy out any infractions of the written or unwritten law. Thus such reports as the following were being constantly sent in: Such-a-one has a pocket-handkerchief with blue spots on it—So-and-so wears blue stockings—Another has suspenders of the forbidden color, and so on, and every one of these "crimes" was punished. A man who was seen speaking to

Dofia Marcelina Buteler, a "savage Unitarian," was duly locked-up for his criminality.

Rosas took the Church, in so far as was possible, as absolutely in his hands as he took the army and the police, and used it as unscrupulously and tyrannically as he did the civil and military forces. He forbid the administration of the Sacraments to his political opponents; he prescribed and modified ceremonies to suit his personal whims, or what he thought his political needs. A couple of instances of his almost idiotic interference in religious matters will be amusing as well as corroborative of what I say. In the "Documents of Belgrano" José Caledonio Balbin relates this story: At the time under reference there was a war in Peru; the leader on one side was General Santa Cruz; Rosas sympathized with the other side in the quarrel, which as good as meant that he was an enemy to the death of Santa Cruz, and one of the measures he adopted in this enmity was to forbid the use of the term "Santa Cruz" (holy cross) in the teaching of prayers or catechism in the churches and schools. In this way depriving the hated Peruvian of much honor! That Rosas issued such an order Balbin, who was a strong supporter of the Dictator, would not believe, he says, until one night, in the lenten time, in San Francisco Church he heard the priest in the pulpit use the words in the inverted form and explain the reason why he so used them. "I left the church," Balbin adds, "firmly convinced that the great American, Rosas, was a confirmed lunatic." The Restorer always pretended great respect for the Church and religion, and in 1836 restored the Jesuits, suppressed by Rivadavia. Some years after he took the whim, or felt it would add to his political prestige, to have a large picture of himself placed on the altars of all the churches. The Parish Priests, as a choice of the lesser of evils, I suppose, submitted to the abominable order, the Jesuits alone refusing. The Restorer and generous supporter, out of the public funds, of religion at once pounced upon them and was as ruthless in suppress-

ing them as were Bucarelli or Rivadavia in earlier times.

The followers of Rosas were chiefly of the criollo or old native element; they hated the gringo, foreigner, for two reasons. His coming with his greater skill and perseverance, they knew in time would overwhelm and replace them as surely as they, themselves, had overwhelmed and replaced the aborigines, and secondly, their political opponents were all for the promotion of immigration and the introduction of foreign business methods and improved stock breeding. Rosas was at heart not at all averse to foreigners, but he allowed his followers the wildest liberty in arousing passion against the stranger, even to public incitements to murder and massacre. Here is an extract from a typical harangue of the period, delivered by Deputy, Dr. Manuel Irigoyen, and given in Ramos Mexia's book: "Our duty, gentlemen, is to arouse our sons, reminding them of the injustice that is being done us. The anxiety they (the foreigners) have for keeping us in slavery, and when we have their hair standing of an end, and their eyes flashing, let us put arms in their hands, and let us say to them: 'at the foreigner!'" One has almost to laugh at the maniacal excesses of those infuriated and merciless partisans. Rivadavia, when in power, sought to improve the breed of sheep, horses and cattle by introducing European sires and dams. The idea was well taken up by many of the most progressive stock-raisers in the country; Harrat and Sheridan being amongst the first and most successful of these. The new and better breeds were increasing and spreading out to many estancias as the years went by. After Rosas was invested with supreme power everything Unitarian was banned and outlawed, if not by statute by feeling and suggestion. And, will it be believed? regular bands went through the country slaughtering rams, stallions, bulls and all animals having any signs of foreign blood in them! The Unitarians, the party opposed to Rosas, were usually described in decrees and official reports as traitors who had sold themselves to the foreigner, and who were "dirty, dis-

gusting savages." In 1845 the scab pest in sheep, for the first time, assumed very serious proportions; it was supposed to have been introduced to the Plate countries in the foreign sheep, and at once the Unitarians got the additional epithet of "scabby" applied to them. Government decrees, political manifestoes, business and other advertisements had always to recite the litany of abuse against the Unitarians. Here is the way a religious advertisement published in the "Gaceta," the Government organ, in September, 1839, commenced: "Hurrah for the Federation! Death to the savage, impious Unitarians! Death to the dirty, disgusting French enemy of American Independence! Death to the seditious, fugitive mulatto, Rivera! Death to the savage, Unitarian assassin, Juan Lavalle!" Following all this was a very pious invitation to come to a Te Deum for the escape of Rosas from an attempt to assassinate him.

The Dictator affected a profound respect for religious rites and practices, for no one knew better than he did the political advantage of a popular belief in his godliness, yet he outraged every truly religious principle. Henry VIII was mild in dealing with recalcitrant priests compared with him. And it may safely be said that some of the clergymen he favored and promoted to high places in the Church in his many years of absolutism are in no small measure responsible for the indifferentism, when not actual anti-clericalism, of the mass of the Argentine people. Of course it is not to be understood from the foregoing remarks that the clergymen were all corrupt then, far from it; there were numbers of good, pious, zealous priests in the city, but they had to live their lives unrecognized and without overmuch worldly reward.

Don Juan had a great facility for nicknaming people; he was fond of playing tricks and many stories of his practical jokes are still current. Most writers say he was a man of splendid stature and very handsome countenance. Mansilla, however, who was a relative of his, and knew him

intimately, says he was neither tall nor symmetrical, but somewhat heavy built, and agrees that he had a handsome face. The Unitarians used to call him a mulatto, although it was well known to them that he had red hair, soft white skin and blue eyes. Ramos Mexia considering the proposition of Dr. Ayarragaray that most of Argentina's civil-war troubles were traceable to the negro and Indian blood of the soldier-politician faction leaders, points out that Rosas, Lavalle, Oribe, Ramirez and Rivera Indarte were fair-haired, white of skin and blue-eyed. So, the poor negro and sorely wronged Indian need not get all the blame for South American devilment.

Having touched on so many of the bad features in the career of the Tyrant it is but fair to mention some of the characteristics that stand to his credit, for he was not all bad. In his private life he was without reproach—indeed, a model man. His early education was little more than rudimentary but he read and studied in his spare hours with great industry and acquired considerable literary ability. He was all his life an exceedingly hard worker; very abstemious in his eating and drinking; scrupulously careful of his person as to dress and cleanliness; he married young, his "loving Encarnacion," as he used to fondly call his wife, and no husband and wife ever lived in truer affection and loyalty than the iron souled Don Juan Manuel and the no less fearless and unrelenting Doña Encarnacion. He was as methodical as a German military chief in his business affairs, and every transaction of his Government, especially where public moneys were in any way concerned, was documented with the greatest care and clearness. Dr. J. M. Ramos Mexia, immediate descendant of one of the most uncompromising of Unitarians, has this to say of the Dictator, with regard to his disposition of the public revenues: "In handling the public funds Rosas never touched a dollar for his own benefit; he lived a sober and modest life and died in poverty."

In dealing with his opponents he seldom gave quarter,

nor were they a whit more generous with him. With him they were savages and assassins, with them he was a mulatto, a cut-throat, and he and his family would be a disgrace even to Sodom and Gomorrah. We may wonder at the unscrupulousness with which both sides abused each other, and stand aghast at the savage brutality of the men in authority, but let us not be too quick in turning up our eyes to Heaven in holy horror for the deeds of the "assassins" and "cut-throats" of seventy or eighty years ago. This is 1917, and we know what is going on in Europe, the very highly civilized, where there are no leaders with negro or Indian blood in their veins. Has any falsehood or vile epithet been thought to gross or stupid among the antagonists? Have we not seen France and England put three German women ruthlessly to death on the suspicion that they were spies? And has not Germany with equal savagery executed an English nurse, practically in retaliation? Has Buenos Aires anything to its shame of more shocking barbarity than the butchery of Skeffington and his comrades in death in Dublin last year by the English? Was the rewarding of the accidental slayer of Lavalley by Rosas a deed of moral depravity half so revolting as the promotion by the English Commandant-General of Colthurst for the brutal killing of the boy Coad and the plain assassination of the three unoffending and unaccused journalists? Colthurst, let it not be forgotten, was promoted immediately after the murders referred to, and he had no other action to his account to merit the attention of his superiors. The court-martial "trials" and the promiscuous shootings of "rebels" in the Irish Capital need not be gone into in order to show that the Mazorca of Rosas was not a whit less irresponsible and effective than the 1916 Mazorca of Prime Minister Asquith in Dublin. Someone has said that human nature is pretty much the same all the world over; so it is, and right in at the core, when you get there, you will find that it is all pretty much that of the Indian.

Rosas, probably by mere chance, adopted the worse of the two leading political principles of his time; that was his greatest mistake. Had he happened to come to power as a Unitarian he would have persecuted the Federalists, if they stood in his way, as rigorously as he did the Unitarians, and most of those who were his mortal enemies would be his warm friends. Why he triumphed over the Unitarians was that at the beginning he had the more popular cause, and once in power he had the shrewdness to see what measures he should take to secure his position, and had the daring and energy to take those measures at any and all times as circumstances demanded. He was not a statesman; there was nothing great in him except his courage and cruelty. He rose to power by force, he ruled by force, he fell by force, and like Cromwell he left nothing to the world but a bad name. All his political and administrative system went to pieces with his fall.

A great deal of the history of the Irish people here belongs to the period of Rosas, and amongst the names of those who suffered at his hands are to be met a few Irish. He imprisoned O'Brien and, it is said, would have shot him but for the timely representations of the English Minister, but I prefer to believe that it was the tyrant's daughter, Manuelita, as was commonly said at the time, who saved him. I have mentioned that O'Brien's *crime* was the bearing of a message from the hated Santa Cruz, whose name, not knowing of the famous decree against its pronouncement, he, possibly, mentioned quite freely. In addition to the Mazorca's victim, Colonel Lynch, there was another Lynch and one of the Dillons amongst the banished. Domingo Cullen, Secretary of State for Santa Fé, under Governor Lopez, is said to have known so many dangerous state secrets that he had to be got out of the way with the greatest caution and strategy, as otherwise many very damaging disclosures might be made. Cullen for some time had been showing signs of disaffection and after the death of Lopez broke altogether with the Dictator

of Buenos Aires. At once the flood-gates of abuse and vilification were opened against him in the "Gaceta Mercantil," and he was as dirty, disgusting savage and traitorous as even the Unitarians. The frightful story of the unfortunate Camila O'Gorman is one of the most shocking things of the Rosas regime.

Camila was the sister of Canon O'Gorman, and was an exceptionally handsome girl. The moral state of the women of Buenos Aires at this time is said to have been low, and one of the extraordinary measures taken by Rosas to cope with this lamentable condition, a result, it is shown, of his governmental system, was to collect and banish to the Indian frontier of the south most of the unfortunate women of the city and its surroundings. With the sterner sex he was no less severe; any youths heard using profane or obscene language in the streets or public houses were taken up and forced into the army service as buglers, drummers, etc. He knew no remedy for any evil but force—always the strong hand, always destroy and terrify. From this mere hint at the conditions in Buenos Aires an idea can be formed of the prevailing social evil and the remedies being applied thereto. Canon O'Gorman had a curate by the name of Gutierrez, a young man who suddenly became more interested in the fair Camila than in attending to his priestly duties. In due time the illicit intimacy between the young pair became notorious to all, and they fled from the city, nobody knew to where. The Unitarians, in Montevideo, those in Buenos Aires had to keep quiet, were delighted to have a new scandal with which to further heighten the enormities of Rosas and his Government, and they used it unsparingly. The Tyrant, moved mostly by a feeling of hatred of those who had given his enemies such a welcome and useful weapon against him, and to publicly mark his abhorrence of so grave a scandal, ordered both delinquents, as soon as apprehended, to be publicly shot, and so on the morning of August 18, 1848, in his famous military headquarters, the barbarous sentence was carried

out, the unhappy girl being within a month of her confinement. It is the most inhuman and unpardonable of the many atrocities of that reign of terror.

Brown, though highly regarded by Rosas for his usefulness as a good seaman, was not *persona grata* with the Dictator. He never had any politics to play, and could not understand why anyone should desire to be in a position to rule unless the people wanted him there. So, it is related that when a document conferring on Rosas extraordinary powers was being carried around to be signed by prominent men, the stolid old Admiral shook his head and would not touch it. This to Rosas must have appeared little short of open rebellion, and it is certain no other man in Buenos Aires could do it and remain at liberty and safe. He was then attending to his farming and leading a very quiet life. Early in '41 the Restorer needed him and he had to relinquish the care of his crops and cattle for the sterner, but, probably, more congenial "life on the rolling deep" once more. The "holy Federation" had to be defended against the "savage Unitarians," and the "viejo Bruno" (old Brown), as the Dictator used to call him, was the man to do it. It was in this campaign that he defeated Garibaldi, as already mentioned; Coe, also, he easily overwhelmed and with this comparatively unimportant campaign ended his glorious career of active service in the navy. Ramos Mexia, like Lopez, bears witness as to his utter carelessness as to what the local parties stood for or believed in, saying: "His torpor in the learning of Spanish, notwithstanding his long residence amongst the criollos, was equal to his want of political interest, he never bothered to find out who was right or who was wrong. His ingenuous loyalty to the government manifested itself in docile respect for who ever occupied the fortress, which was the highest house to be seen from his historic anchoring place." The fortress was for Brown the seat of Government, and whoever held it had a right to order and have his orders obeyed; thus it was that he filled the place of temporary Governor

for the Unitarians and soon afterwards was Admiral of the forces fighting against them. In both positions he merely obeyed orders to the best of his ability, and the orders came from the fortress in each case.

When Rosas attained to power in 1829 he revived a law made in 1821, and which in Rivadavia's time had become a dead letter. This law made military service incumbent on strangers in any kind of shop-keeping or public business, artisans and proprietors of real estate were also amenable to its provisions, and although a considerable number of our people remained in the affected business occupations, there can be no doubt this law drove a great many to seek a livelihood in pastoral pursuits. How those who remained in the city managed to evade the statutory prescriptions need not be inquired into here; they may have been beyond the military age or otherwise exempt, or there may have been a way then as well as now by which little infractions of the law could be arranged through a friend; what is certain, however, is, that a goodly number continued as before in the city and few or none served the colors compulsorily.

To the camp our people must have gone in those first years of the Rosas period in comparatively large numbers, for McCann wrote in '42 or '43: "The Irish population is very dense in this neighborhood (Chascomus), and they greatly stand in need of the pastoral care of an intelligent and affectionate resident clergyman." And again: "The banks of the river (Salado) in the neighborhood of Chascomus are very densely populated with British subjects, chiefly Irish, employed in sheep-farming. Nearly all the Irish are from the County Westmeath." This writer states that he stayed in the houses of a Mr. Murray and a Mr. Handy, that they were very prosperous, had comfortable houses with nice plantations, that Murray's family of sons and daughters were all grown up, that at Handy's, where there was a "fine family of children" they had a "tutor to instruct them." From these facts recorded in '43, it is plain that

Messrs Murray, Handy and their neighbors must have been settled in their comfortable houses, surrounded by plantations, for at least ten or twelve years. This Michael Handy was a South of Ireland man, probably one of the "Yankee Irish" of whom Love speaks as coming here in 1825; the Mr. Murray in the case was the father of the famous "Big Micky," so well known to all the old Irish settlers. Mr. Murray was but a few months in the country when McCann met him, he had come to reside with his family who were then long settled in the camp and well-to-do. But Irish colonization had extended far beyond the Salado in McCann's time, for he mentions that in the Partido of Dolores there were many "British subjects," and in the town of that name no less than three Irish doctors. In these days of the passing of the sheep from the inner camps of the province, and of almost European prices for stock, this little note as to prices and profits common, if not ruling in the sheep industry then, will be to the point here. It is from the author last quoted, and is to the effect that the aforesaid Mr. Handy, some years previous to '48, bought 8000 sheep in the Tandil district at the price of *eight pence per dozen*, and that of this large number he lost, in killed for meat and otherwise missing, but one hundred in the journey of two hundred miles to his estancia. And that when this flock fattened on his land he disposed of the fleeces of some one thousand of them at the rate of five shillings and three pence per dozen. No wonder that Mr. Handy and others of his time and nationality, along the Salado, rapidly became rich. Those were, indeed, "the good old times."

McCann's book has much useful and interesting information regarding stock-raising in the Forties. No other writer, up to his time, that I have met with, has so much interested himself in our countrymen, his countrymen, also; and though not of the faith of the majority of his compatriots, religiously or politically, he is generally friendly and well disposed towards them. Within the twenty years

previous to his stay in Argentina, which sojourn lasted six of seven years, the very beginnings of Irish sheep-farming were made. What a pity that it did not strike him to find out and record just by whom, and where, and exactly when this already extensive and profitable business, which occupied so many of his countrymen, had been commenced. The Dolores district, where he found a prosperous and numerous Irish colony was dominated by the marauding Indian tribes less than twenty years before he came upon the scene. So that no European colony south of the Salado could have been more than fifteen or twenty years old at the time he visited the district.

With the Rosas regime commenced Irish sheep-farming on an extensive scale and notwithstanding the political disorders of the period our people seem to have been strangely immune from injury and disturbance. It is difficult to understand the wild threats of those times against the foreigner and the official shibboleth of "death to the stranger," and at the same time to see by the newspapers which published these blood-curdling menaces that every ship which came into the port brought numerous strangers, few of whom, while minding their own business, were molested or inconvenienced. It is also puzzling to find, after all the denunciations of and violence to the foreign-bred live stock, that in 1845 one-third of the six million sheep in Buenos Aires were of the detested foreign strain. One can only account for these singular contradictions between what one might expect to be the conditions and what was in reality the fact, by concluding that Rosas used these party cries and shibboleths merely for political effect—to arouse a sort of false patriotic spirit among the more ignorant and unreflecting of his followers. And that while outwardly encouraging what I may call criolloism, he took ample care to instruct his police and military authorities that law-abiding foreigners were to have every protection and encouragement. Except in this way I can not explain the extravagant anti-foreigner outbursts of the official party

while hundreds of foreigners were being put ashore weekly in Buenos Aires. The immigrants of that time were chiefly Spanish-Basques and probably next to them in number were the Irish. From the early Forties on to the middle Eighties this stream was continuous and strong. McCann refers to the disproportion in the number of Irish men and Irish women as one of the serious drawbacks to complete happiness in the sheep-farmer's life. He observes that the Irish rarely intermarry with native families.

The following few personal items taken from newspaper reports between '40 and '45 will not be without interest to some of my readers. In 1841: At the battle of Quebrachitos Gregorio Dillon, son of the wealthy Irish merchant John Dillon, who died in '26, fought against Rosas and was made prisoner, his life was spared by the tyrant, why, I know not. Dr. James Lepper resigned his directorship of the men's hospital and received the thanks of Rosas for his "generous service to the country and to humanity"; Lepper gave the unfavorable condition of his health and business affairs as the motive of his retirement. John Dalton sailed for home; Patrick Whelan of Quilmes subscribed twenty dollars to a fund for the upkeep of the navy; John C. Dillon, brother of the prisoner, Gregorio, received his diploma as professor of pharmacy.

Rosas, as elsewhere mentioned was the most scrupulous in publishing financial statements and balances, and the following are the contributors, with Irish names, of Direct Tax in the year 1842: Thomas Armstrong, Elias Buteler, Francis Corcoran, James Coyle, John Dalton, Joseph Dowling, Patrick Fleming, David Flynn, Patrick Garaghan, John Kenny, six Lynches, Edward Morgan, John Murtagh, Patrick Murphy, John O'Brien, John Rurke, Peter Sheridan, John Tyrrell and Patrick Whelan. I may have left out a few Irish names, but the omission, if there be such, is due to the extraordinary spelling of the officials.

In this year the poor of Great Britain and Ireland were reduced to such an alarming condition of poverty and want

that collections had to be started all over the world to save the masses from starvation. England was then, as now, the wealthiest of all nations. Her Government was spending millions annually in wars against native tribes in Asia and Africa whose only offense against "civilization" was that they had goods which England coveted. Her own poor, the masses of her people, were in the most wretched and shocking misery and degradation, and she leaves them to live on the charity of the world, or die of hunger. These have been the conditions in England since that country became the "great hive of Industry"; great wealth amongst the classes, great wretchedness amongst the masses. I often wonder is it ignorance of the real social and political system in England or some influence less excusable that is answerable for such men as Lopez, Mitre, Nuñez, Alberti and others like them holding England and her Government up to the world as models to be studied and imitated; when in truth and justice, for the brutal selfishness of that nation, for the immeasurable cruelties and wrongs she has inflicted on other peoples, and the state of misery and debasement she has kept and keeps her own poor in, she ought to be held up to the execration and abhorrence of every nation. In the presence of the appalling want in the United Kingdom the English Queen, then quite young and less hardened and selfish than what it is well-known she afterwards became, appealed, not to her Government but to the charity of the world, for the means whereby her subjects might be saved from starvation. Here in Buenos Aires, in September, the movement to procure funds to that end was taken up and amongst the subscribers I find a great many Irish names, the collection being, as stated in the appeal, "for the relief of the suffering poor of Great Britain and Ireland." Here are some of the Irish names: James Brown, James P. Sheridan, Joseph Dowling, James Downey, Patrick Hamilton, Patrick Whealen, Patrick Sherry, David McGuire, David Fleming, Patrick Pue, John Gahan, W. Dunn, P. Moore, William Butler, John Joyce, William

Brown, Thomas Daily, Thomas Sherlock, James Shannon, Terence Moore. This distress of '42 was the beginning of the Irish famine of '47. Charity from abroad and the rousing of the Government to useful if somewhat tardy action, saved the people of England and Scotland from the calamity that was criminally allowed, some believe deliberately planned, to fall with such horror on Ireland. One thing, however, is perfectly certain: the Government had ample warning of what was coming. In '42 destitution was already alarming and the "bad times" continued till the awful climax of '47, when hunger, fever and the coffin ships had carried away something about two millions, a little less than one-fourth, of the population of Ireland.

From news items in the papers this year I find that Richard Duffy, his wife, three children and two servants went to Gualeguay; David Flynn sold a few cattle in Lobos—David, if not the very first Irishman who settled in that district, must have been amongst the earliest. Peter Nagle, for many years a resident of Buenos Aires, and Mary Ann Dunleavy, 24 years of age, were buried in the Recoleta.

The next five years have little of general interest that need be recorded here. The coming of Father Fahey will be dealt with in another chapter. The first St. Patrick's Day celebration that I find any record of took place in '48, but the report of the event, published in the "British Packet" suggested that the function of this year was not by any means the first of its kind in Buenos Aires. It took the form of a dance, at Walsh's Tea Garden, which lasted all night and was attended by some one hundred merry-makers. The report says the celebration was "as heretofore." In the following year Peter Sheridan, the well-known merchant and stockman, died at his estancia. He was a Cavanman and 52 years of age at the time of his death. He was the first Irishman in the country to make a name for himself in the wool-raising business, but sheep-breeding was not his first or only line. With his brother he conducted a strong import and export trade, the house

of Sheridan Brothers being one of the best known in Buenos Aires in the first Twenties. They also had a *saladera*, and, in partnership with Harrat, established a felt factory. It is told that Harrat was making arrangements to found a woolen factory and that Sheridan dissuaded him from his purpose because of the difficulty of getting suitable hands and of keeping those which they might be able to train or bring out.

In years ago when sheep occupied the lands from Rosario to Tandil, and when Venado Tuerto was "away outside," the old sheep-farmers used to tell some wondrous tales of chance, mischance, adventure, romance and tragedy; of fortunes easily made and easily lost; of happy times of great good luck, and of hardships and disasters which seemed to make man's life in Argentina the mere playtoy of fairies as impish in their gaiety as were those at home in Moyvore who put the two humps upon poor Jack Madden. Those harmless and oftentimes very interesting tales were not always inventions of the narrator nor of the neighbor he heard them from, and many of them had but too real and solid foundation in fact. How floods, or droughts, or civil wars, or cholera, or some overwhelming cyclone destroyed the fruits of a life's toil, was often heard in those days. I remember, amongst others, how a certain well-to-do man came down in the world, according to his own account, and who could know his affairs better than he himself? Here is how he said it happened: The drought for several months had stripped his pastures bare of herbage, and he, as well as all his neighbors, had to seek whereon to maintain his flock. The fact of his camp being better than that of any of his neighbors now turned out to be a real misfortune to him—his utter undoing. For while they had to go forth in search of the desired land weeks and weeks earlier they found nearer home the needed pastures. But he, poor man, when he had to trek could find no resting place south of the Arroyo del Medio. Arrived at that river's bank one evening as a great storm

was forming, or as he expressed it in his Englishized Spanish, "formaring," to burst from the heavens, he hurried his flock across the little streamlet that eddied drowsily along the bottom of the broad and deep-cut course of the River of the Half. He had the last sheep across and gathered in the charge of two native peones when the cooling breath of the advancing clouds struck him; there was no time to be lost; he hurried back across the stream to the south bank to fetch his pack horses across, but ere he could get his scanty baggage train in motion the storm of black dust was upon him and there was no possibility of making a single step in safety. The rain had been falling back towards the source of the river for some time, it was now pouring on himself as if coming out of a sieve. When it lightened a little he could see the river, a wild torrent, ever rising, ever widening, but no trace of his flock. Next day by riding many leagues towards the source of the stream he found a place shallow enough to cross, with comparative safety, and when he got to where he had left his sheep—not a living thing. Two or three dead sheep in a rut a league or so away was all he ever saw again of his flock. It had been carried down in the flood to the Paraná. Someone asked: "And the peones?" "Also went down to the Paraná." That the foregoing really happened is unlikely, and it is given merely as a specimen of tales we used to hear, but the following little tale of a tragedy is as true as it is sad: James Quinn, from Tyrone, came to Buenos Aires in 1826. He worked at anything and everything, and made money. Eighteen years of effort and economy in living left him a considerable little fortune, so he would buy a farm. There were many for sale up North, in Capilla, Baradero and Areco, and James with a friend left Buenos Aires to buy one, and be an estanciero himself, with troops of horses, herds of cattle and flocks of sheep! The dream of all his toilsome years coming true! The first obstacle of the pleasant gallop of the two horsemen was the river Conchas. The pass where they were to ford

it was at best a difficult one; the river was now flooded. It was not lucky to turn back; the friends ventured in, Quinn first, who shouted to his friend to stay back and see how he would get on; he got to the middle of the current; his horse was carried off his feet; for a moment or two man and horse struggled with the muddy surgings, now under, now partly so, but only a few moments and Quinn's dreams were closed forever. His body was found a week later down towards the Paraná and was buried in the English cemetery. So were the tales that men used to tell, but the story of Quinn is true. The spot where fate awaited him is known, though not on his account, to many thousands of Argentine conscripts, for it is a little below the bridge of the Campo de Mayo where they often have had a dip.

Deaths, marriages and births are by this time become so common amongst our colony that, except in some special circumstance, I shall not delay to notice them. Rev. Michael Gannon, who seems to be almost forgotten by the Irish people, was then in Buenos Aires and performed the ceremony in the marriage of a Dane, Mr. Hansen, to a Portefía, Emily Mahan in March, 1845. The well-known financial expert of Argentina, and former Secretary of the Treasury, Don Emilio Hansen, is an issue of this marriage. There were then three, perhaps four, Irish priests in Buenos Aires, Fathers Patrick J. O'Gorman, Anthony D. Fahey, Michael Gannon, and I do not know if Michael MacCarten had yet gone to Entre Rios. The two latter were not deputed here as Irish Chaplains but they attended the Irish people whenever called upon. Canon O'Gorman, brother of the ill-fated Camila, was of the second generation of the Hiberno-French family of that name who settled here in Colonial times, and of course, was an Argentine priest. Father Gannon was an intimate friend of the O'Gorman family and knew of the intimacy between Camila and Gutierrez. In 1847 he was appointed to the parish of Goya in Corrientes, and it was at the end of that year that Gutierrez

and Miss O'Gorman fled from Buenos Aires, and for whatever reason, perhaps expecting friendship from Fr. Gannon, made Goya their destination; Father Gannon had them arrested and handed over to the Federal authorities, they were brought back to Buenos Aires and the tragedy of Santos Lugares (what's in a name?) took place on the 18th of August, 1848. Father Gannon's part in the horrible drama is not quite clear, but anti-Rosas' writers on the subject make him play a very odious part.

Before closing this chapter in which the mighty and terrible Rosas has figured so largely, and not too favorably, I feel that it is but fair, and I am sure that it will be of deep interest to my readers, to include a letter of Father Fahey's in refutation of certain allegations against the Dictator and of acknowledgment of his just and beneficent rule. Sometimes it is hard to judge fairly of men and their methods when we are far removed from their time and sphere of action, and the very opposite of this proposition is not infrequently the case under other circumstances; anyhow Father Fahey's letter is very worthy of a place here, because of the man and the circumstances; he was no party politician, and he knew what he was writing about. Here is his letter:

FATHER FAHEY'S LETTER

Buenos Aires, Nov. 7, 1849.

With no little surprise and regret I have read in the *Dublin Review* a libellous article, in which the policy and acts of H. E. the Governor and Captain General of the Province of Buenos Aires, Encharged with the Foreign Relations of the Argentine Confederation, Brigadier Don Juan Manuel de Rosas, are made the subject of false and calumnious aspersions of every description. This upright Magistrate, who extends so much and so enlightened protection to all the inhabitants of this country—who has restored the reign of order, and the splendour of the Catholic Religion—is traduced in that production with the greatest injustice by distorting the events which have occurred in this Republic.

Though you have performed the honorable task of refuting, by a veridical statement of facts, that revolting libel, I conceive I fulfil a duty of conscience, and one of gratitude towards this country and its Government, by delivering my opinion and offering my testimony of corroboration of your views. My special character of delegate of the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, for the guidance of the Irish Catholics of this country, does not allow me to let that diatribe pass in silence, the more so as I have had on a former occasion the satisfaction of writing with good effect to Mr. O'Connell, M. P., calling his attention to the prosperous condition of the Irish here under the just and enlightened administration of H. E. General Don Juan Manuel de Rosas.

For the sake of distant readers who cannot calculate to what an extent the spirit of malevolence is carried, abusing the press and misleading respectable persons, I avail myself of this opportunity to declare, that the aforesaid production, published in the *Dublin Review*, so far as regards facts and the manner of qualifying H. E. the Governor of Buenos Aires, Encharged with the Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Confederation, is incorrect and deceitful. It does not behove me to decide upon the political principles touched upon by its authors; but if they are to have the same effect as those applied at Rome, being of the same revolutionary character, there can be no doubt that all intelligent, good and religious men will turn away their eyes from such aberrations.

I see radicated in this country a most profound and universal sympathy for H. E. Don Juan Manuel de Rosas—a sympathy shared by all foreign residents here by reason of an upright and beneficent administration protecting the rights and properties of all. That protection has been and is uniformly extended in the most ample manner to the Irish Catholics, to the other British subjects, and to all foreigners, as well as to the natives of the country who in the late struggle were adversaries of the Government and nation in conjunction with foreign enterprises. One of the qualities which shine most conspicuously in the conduct of H. E. the Governor, Brigadier Don Juan Manuel de Rosas, and in his system of Government, is clemency towards the vanquished, and the most generous liberality with respect to foreigners and their commerce.

The moral power which H. E. possesses is shown, amongst other prominent facts, by the circumstance of his governing in accordance with the laws and by free election, while all citizens both in the city

and in the country are armed and keep their arms in their own private dwellings, the emigrants who have returned to the country included.

There have been no disorders of any kind, no imprisonments, executions, or banishments for political offenses, for more than six years. Ordinary crimes are few in number and those which do occur are punished. Commerce and population have increased and continue to advance greatly; the influx of foreigners, who meet in this thriving and peaceful country with the greatest security and every facility in the pursuit of industry in their callings or commercial enterprise being very considerable. The Catholic Religion is venerated and protected by H. E. General Rosas, who enjoys the glory of having restored it to its former splendour.

Under his honourable and wise administration the public credit in this country has risen to a pitch which it never had attained since her glorious emancipation, and which few countries could reach in times of disquiet and foreign war.

All that is stated in the libel inserted in the *Dublin Review* in regard to supposed crimes and assassinations of a Mazhorca Society in the service of the police, which are fancied in that production is proved at former periods—all that is said of the profanation of churches and sanctuaries, and the other suppositions of this stamp, which you have contradicted with conclusive testimony, are but a tissue of contemptible falsehoods. The high character, the deeds and administrative acts of H. E. General Don Juan Manuel de Rosas of which I have been a witness, always restraining disorders and crimes, and the opinions and convictions of the inhabitants of the country, which I have had so many opportunities to ascertain, give the flattest contradiction to those fables, the absurdity of which was made still more apparent by the official refutation of them in 1845 by the Foreign Diplomatic Body resident in this city.

From the reliance I place in the principles which guide the Catholic Bishops of Great Britain, and their personal qualities, I am convinced that the Right Rev. Vicar Apostolic of the London district, under whose auspices the *Dublin Review* is published, will, in homage to justice, to truth and to his high character, proceed in an earnest and enlightened manner to rectify the circumstances of the appearance of the libel in question in so serious a periodical as the *Dublin Review*.

I am Messrs Editors,

Your obedient servant,

ANTHONY D. FAHEY.

I shall now try to make clear a few points which clearing will, I believe, help the reader to understand many things which might otherwise seem confused or without meaning.

The Constitution adopted by the Convention of Tucuman in 1816 had not worked very satisfactorily, and Rivadavia, who was a statesman of very advanced ideas, believed that a radical change in its provisions would hasten and assure great progress in the national affairs. He had filled his head with a lot of French political and social notions which the Spanish statesmen a generation earlier had introduced into Spain and these he would impose on the new Republic. In the early Twenties, as already noticed, he set to regulating the Church, and suppressed the religious orders of men and most of the orders of women. His intentions were, no doubt, good, but like many another good and well-intentioned man, when he got started he did not know where to stop. He introduced new systems of education and teaching which the people did not want and were not yet quite prepared for. These changes made him many enemies among the Church people and more conservative elements in general. His mania for reform lured him next to the correction, or better abolition, of the Constitution; he sought to establish one in its stead somewhat on the lines of that of the United States. In other words, he wanted everything in the enormously far extended territories of the Republic, with their few scattered communities of half-wild people, to fall into the most complete order and observe ordinances and mandates as though they were the citizens of a Pennsylvania township or a Swiss canton. To use a homely but expressive similitude, he wanted to make his country walk before it knew how to creep. The result was an ugly fall for the baby republic, and for poor Rivadavia one from which he never rose again, politically. He assumed the Presidency, himself, of the new arrangement, and failure, hasty and complete, followed. From one extreme to another! After a short term of

semi-anarchy Dorrego was chosen on the old lines; the new dominant party started in to be as thorough in their own way as were the Rivadaviaists. Another revolution and the barbarous murder of Governor Dorrego followed in quick succession. This revolution was put down after a few months, chiefly by Rosas, a return was made to the old order of things in the matter of national government, with a principle somewhat like: Every province for itself and Rosas for them all. For this he was called "Restorer of the Laws." In 1840 he issued an order which had the effect of suppressing the Mazorca. Father Fahey is right, I believe, in saying that for six years previously there were no imprisonments or exilings for political opinions. It was probably a case like that of the Spanish ruler who dying had no enemies to forgive, and explained this happy condition of affairs by saying that he had already killed them all. At the time that Don Juan Manuel began to get lenient there were some twenty thousand Argentine exiles and fugitives in Montevideo alone, so that it could not be very easy to get jailable or banishable people just then in Buenos Aires.

It is most likely, however, in view of what had happened in the years immediately before his ascendancy to power, and the circumstances in which he came to that power, that methods more or less such as his were the only hope for the country. That his reign had the effect of steadying the Argentine character considerably is certain; that he served the cause of religion there is no proof, but very much to the contrary. There is never much use in speculating as to what might have been, but to me, for one, it seems amply plain that a worse political system than that of Rosas, in a self-governing country, could not have been; and that nobody came nearer to telling the truth about the "Restorer" than his friend Balbin when he said he was a confirmed lunatic.

Three things in connection with the Irish people here in those days stand out with interesting prominence: They

took, practically, no part in the political troubles or activities of the opposing parties, not even subscribing, save very seldom, to the political collections. Comparatively very few of them owned taxable property, especially in the rural districts, as may be seen from the lists of taxed proprietors. And although many of them were extensive sheep-farmers, often owning from ten to fifty thousand sheep, scarcely any of them invested in horn cattle. I have carefully examined the reports of cattle brought into Buenos Aires for twenty-five years previous to 1850 and, I believe, I can quite safely say that not one thousand out of the millions slaughtered in that period were bought from men of Irish names. It was the rule in those years to publish the names of the seller, the buyer and the trooper, as well as the purpose for which the animals were brought in; whether for consumption, for salting, or for rendering into grease. For the latter purpose mares and sheep were also commonly used.

All through the Rosas reign there was a steady stream of Irish immigration to the country, but the largest inflow, so far, was in '47, and the years following saw each an increase till about 1865. A little while before the end of the Dictatorship large numbers of immigrants from the south of Europe began to arrive who could work much cheaper in the saladeros and factories of the city, as well as in the various trades and arts than could the Irish laborers and artisans, which was another cause why so many of the immigrants from Ireland took up sheep-farming.

CHAPTER IX

FATHER FAHEY, HIS CONGREGATION, LABORS AND DIFFICULTIES—FIRST LIST OF CHARITABLE AND PATRIOTIC IRISHMEN—BROWN GOES HOME—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS AND COMMENTS.

IT will be now my task to trace the outlines and fill in the features, so to speak, of the great figure that rises so largely and lovingly above all others in Irish-Argentine memories and traditions. Chaplains our community in Argentina have had, before and since his time, of great merit—self-sacrificing, sympathetic, and unflinching in their loyalty to the best interests of their people, spiritually and temporally—but in all, not one that stands out as the great leader, the recognized philanthropist, the man of the people, the patriarch of his race in this land, save Father Fahey alone.

That Father Fahey may be called a great man is proved in the works he effected for his people, in the benefits he conferred upon them, in the willingness with which they accepted his control and guidance, and in the affection and veneration in which his memory is still held. In his priestly piety, his personal dignity, untiring industry, pure religious zeal, yet with all practical common sense and good business instinct, he reminds one more of the Irish saints of the first generations of the Faith in the old motherland than of a nineteenth century missionary in a foreign country. Of those old saints who explained the mysteries of religion to their people while they taught them how to till their fields to best advantage, plant fruit-trees, use the idle stream to grind their wheat, or turning from these plainer labors led their students through the depths and intricacies of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin philosophies and gram-

matical subtleties, and who passed their leisure hours in writing and illuminating books that are still the wonder and admiration of the learned of all lands. In the life of St. Columcille it is stated that that glorious Saint and great apostle was a good builder, millwright and farmer. The Bishop, Etchen, who ordained him at Clonfad in Westmeath, left his plow in the furrow to administer the Sacrament of Holy Orders to this the greatest Irish priest of them all—than that of Columcille there is no Irish name higher. Father Fahey had all of the faith, sincerity, wisdom and simplicity of those great men of Ireland's Golden Age. Some people have an idea that the times and circumstances favored Father Fahey in some peculiar way. They did not, however. If he were to be thrown amongst his people in Argentina to-day, his methods might be somewhat different, but his mission and its effects would be the same as those we know of. The great qualities with which Father Fahey was endowed, and the genius to always apply them well, will never fail of their merit where it is people of the Irish race who have to make the award. There were some five or six Irish Chaplains before Father Fahey's time and some dozens during and since his time, and while all of them have done good work, the measure of which cannot be made in this world, no one of them has towered up like him; he stands to them all as does the dark robed and majestic eucalyptus on the distant plain to its surrounding paradise trees and acacias. Had he been the first Irish Chaplain it might be said that his circumstances were unique as he would thus have the field all to himself to cultivate and fashion as he pleased, but no, he was only the successor to other good men who filled the same post. Nor had any special powers or privileges been conferred on him by his superiors which would give him advantages that no one before him enjoyed. He was just a plain Dominican priest sent by Archbishop Murray of Dublin to the Irish of Buenos Aires to be their Chaplain. All his special privileges and advantages were his own personal qualities, his zeal for the

glory of God and the good of his own people, and an experience of his countrymen abroad which he acquired in a sojourn of some ten years in the Middle West of the United States. It was said that he was so highly thought of in his Order that his mission to the United States was mainly to examine and report on the condition of branch houses in that country.

He was thirty-nine years of age when he arrived in Buenos Aires, in 1843. Like that other great Irish Dominican, Father Tom Burke, he was sprung from an old Galway family; Loughrea having the honor of being his birthplace. His studies were commenced, I believe, in Kilkenny and were completed in Rome, from where soon after he was sent to North America. Ten years later he returned to Ireland, and his experience of the wild life of the then backwoods' states of Kentucky and Ohio were probably taken into account by Archbishop Murray when that saintly prelate had for the third time to choose a shepherd for the scattered and increasing flock beside the distant Plate. However, his selection on this occasion would seem to go far towards proving the truth of the old belief that there is some kind of charm in third-time attempts. The two first chosen for this mission were not successful in the undertaking; Father Moran dying in little more than a year after his arrival in Buenos Aires, and Father O'Gorman having to relinquish his labors through failing health.

There are a great many erroneous and fantastic notions current amongst the Irish-Argentine people as to the condition in which Father Fahey found their progenitors and compatriots when he arrived in their midst. It is quite a common belief that he started the Irish people in the sheep-farming business; but the facts I have heretofore adduced as to the commencement of Irish sheep-farming will be sufficient to correct this mistake. In Mulhall's book, "The English in South America," a strange enough title under which to place an account of Father Fahey one might say, if one knew not the kind of writers the Mulhalls were, our

patriarch is introduced and dealt with somewhat extensively. Speaking of his arrival here the writer says, "at the time the prospects of the country and of the Irish residents were far from promising." Why Mulhall wrote such a statement as that I am not able to explain, except it was because of his peculiar weakness for making his countrymen appear always as poorly off and dependent on somebody else to help them along. Be this as it may the statement is without the least foundation in fact. Father Fahey's letter given in the last chapter where he speaks of having written to O'Connell "calling attention to the prosperous condition here" does not suggest anything like Mulhall's *unpromising prospects*, and McCann writing exactly of this time says: "There is no country where the laboring classes are so well rewarded . . . and the Irish for many reasons are particularly acceptable." These quotations, apart from showing how unreliable is the information given in the Mulhall book, will serve to establish the true condition of the Irish settled in Argentina when Father Anthony D. Fahey came amongst them. Another very popularly accepted belief is that the good missionary was a great matchmaker; and stories innumerable are told of the many marriages he arranged, and the droll manner in which he brought numerous swains and maids together and united them in life-long happiness and good luck. These stories, commonly, were not wholesale inventions are very generous embellishments and exaggerations of a few fundamental facts. I have heard from some of the priests who knew Father Fahey, and from others, that his practice was to avoid participation in the negotiating of such contracts, and that matrimonial alliances proposed or planned by him were very, very few. As a clergyman with the spiritual good of his people sincerely at heart, and as a wise man of the world, of course, he urged and advised men with any fair prospect, which meant every honest, industrious young man in the country, to marry and settle down. And when a young girl in Buenos Aires, where al-

most all the Irish girls in the country then were, received a proposal of marriage from an almost unknown man from the camp, nothing could be more natural than for her to seek advice in so serious a step from the trustworthy friend who knew every Irishman in the country. But beyond this kind of intervention in marriages he rarely went. So that the stories one hears told with such picturesque detail, and oftentimes rich humor, of the sheepfarmer's arrival at the Once or at the Plaza Constitucion markets, after long and very perilous journeys over roadless plains and swollen rivers, their waiting for the slower-moving bullock carts, the sale of the wool, the lively few days following, and then the serious, businesslike call on Father Fahey to get an order, as it were, from him for a wife, the selection, marriage and the tedious journey in the inevitable bullock-cart back to some mud cabin on the distant plain, are not to be taken too unconditionally. The plains of Buenos Aires in the days when the sheep-farmer had little more to do than let his flock fatten and increase, and to sell wool and hides and grease, were a great place for minor Homers and Oisins, and if their flights of fancy sprung not into the realms of the gods, nor sank with their heroes to the regions of the unblest, they saw some mighty strange visions on the dull and somewhat commonplace pampas that stretched so endlessly around them. A collection of the romances, adventures and tragedies so invented, and embellished according to the taste and talent of each succeeding narrator, would make an interesting volume of modern folklore. An extract from an article by the late William Bulfin in a Buenos Aires publication of the last century's end will reveal Father Fahey and his flock very much in the light of popular tradition and will also give a fairly correct picture of a phase of our people's life in the old days:

God be with the old times when the boys, having established themselves fairly well in the camp, came into Buenos Aires to look for wives. Here again the good Father Fahey was their friend in need. He knew

all the marriageable girls in the city, knew where they came from at home, knew the particular kind of a boy for whom each would make the best possible wife. And so the matches were made in Heaven as well as on earth.

God be with the rough old honeymoon tour which began the morning after the marriage when the happy pair started for their distant home in the camp. Their chariot was a big covered-in bullock-cart. The axles were of wood and whistled wedding marches. The motive power was furnished by six oxen. A swarthy Basque armed with a twelve-foot driving spike¹ took charge of the show, and that solemn procession tore through the country at the rate of ten or twelve miles per day, when the weather was fine. In the bullock-cart, besides the bridal pair, were stowed away some necessary articles of furniture for the new housekeeper, also a plentiful supply of shears, top-boots, clay pipes, cake tobacco, some bottles of strong water and many other sundries too numerous to mention. The expedition reached its destination in two or three or five weeks, according to the weather, and the hero and heroine lived happy for ever after. You can make the same journey to-day by train, rural tramway, or steamboat in six or seven hours, or less.

God be with the old fashioned wool season, before public roads or railways were dreamed of, when the entire clip was brought to Buenos Aires markets by bullock-carts. If the weather were bad, the wool was often weeks and weeks on the road, but the farmers who had arrived in town on horseback meanwhile killed the time after the manner of their kind. They painted all the boarding-houses red, and there were dances and high teas and games of "forty-five" on greasy cards, and at length when the wool arrived and was sold, the bills paid and the balance safely deposited with Father Fahey, there was a grand stampede.

There was saddling and mounting in haste,
There was spurring o'er moor and lea.

Those were the days when there were no wire fences, when you could gallop to the setting sun over open camp, when in the thistle season you seldom saw your sheep at all, and when you made money nearly in spite of yourself—days of toil and loneliness and sunshine and storm and gay-hearted devilment and fun. God then be with them!

¹ A cane wattle which served as reins and whip to guide and drive.

Such the legends one hears. True tales in individual cases, but never necessarily the order of the day. The historic bullock-cart was never, for long journeys, a passenger conveyance. Post "galeras" in the Thirties were running at regular intervals with passengers and mails to all the frontier towns from Pergamino by Mercedes to Chascomus, as may be seen by reference to the newspapers of the time. No doubt some people chose, on occasion, to make trips by the bullock-cart, but rather to take care of goods in transport than through sheer necessity. I may remark, by the way, that Bulfin, as well as the Mulhalls and other writers, spells Father Fahey's name incorrectly. He, Father Fahey, always wrote his name with an "e" between the "h" and "y."

When he commenced his mission in Buenos Aires his parish had an extent not very much less than the total area of Ireland. Two-thirds, at least, of his flock of about four thousand lived very distant from the Capital and were scattered from Dolores in the South to Baradero in the North, and could be included within a boundary line that might be drawn from one of these outposts to the other, passing, more or less, through Monte, Mercedes and San Antonio de Areco. Of the three thousand, or thereabout, outside the city, fully three-fourths lived in the districts of Ranchos, Chascomus and Dolores. Most of the remaining fourth were in Cañuelas, Moron, Merlo, Lujan and Pilar, with a few scattered out in Capilla del Señor and Zarate. Mercedes, Giles and Areco were then, for our people, "outside camps," and none of them, as sheepfarmers, had crossed the Arroyo del Medio or reached the district of Chivilcoy for more than twenty years after this time.

Having quickly made himself acquainted with his people in the city, he lost no time in visiting those who had ventured to more perilous if profitable scenes and occupations. In Quilmes there was then a goodly number of Irish. Mr. Edward Clark, who kept a dairy, poultry farm and saladero, employed almost exclusively Irish, and we may

imagine this place as Father Fahey's first stop on his journey to the Salado district. McCann mentions having met him soon after his arrival in the country in the house of Mr. Handy on the banks of the river just named. The Irish, as we have already seen, were then numerous in that district and further south. From there to Ranchos, Monte, Cañuelas and Lujan was his itinerary, with innumerable deviations to estancias and puestos wherever Irlandeses were to be found in the lonely wilderness. What tremendous physical effort such an undertaking as that journey entailed for a man getting on in years and unaccustomed to horse-riding! In the country then there were no tilburies, surkies, nor "americanos," not even the old brake which thirty years ago was no small style, but which to-day is only used for carting purposes, everything in the way of light camp journeying was done on horseback. On horseback he had to make all his long and laborious rounds, and amongst people who though kindly and hospitable as any people could be had generally few of the household comforts, even of those days, to welcome the priest to. I cannot resist here quoting again from the article of William Bulfin already drawn on, for an extract now to the point:

God be with the times when Father Fahey started from Buenos Aires on horseback to visit his scattered flock. From forty to sixty miles a day, he often galloped over the camp, changing horses here and there as opportunity offered. Many a night he slept on his *recao* rolled in his *poncho*, with the thatched roof of a hut over his head and at times nothing but the starry sky of the Pampa. Many a meal he ate where every guest was supposed to hold the meat in his fingers and use his own long camp knife to the best advantage. Here is a conversation which some of the old hands will still repeat to you. It took place in a hut over forty years ago between Father Fahey and a certain Irishman whom we shall only call by his Christian name which was Mike.

"It's sorry I am, yer reverence, that I haven't a sate to offer you; if I knew you wor comin' I'd have——"

"Never mind, *amock*, I'll sit on this cow's head. Go on with your cooking."

"Sure its hardly worth while to call it cookin', yer reverence; its only a bit of a roast I'm makin'. But if you wor only to come yister-day mornin', I had the eligantest brile that ever was seen, so I had."

"I'd sooner have the roast, Mike, and that one you are making now smells good."

"Yis, but the salt is all out, yer reverence. There isn't a grain in the house since yisterday week."

"Well, Mike, we must only do without it. I'm too hungry myself to care about the seasoning—why it's splendid!"

For Mike had served the meal by driving the point of the spit, upon which hung the roast, into the floor of the hut, within convenient reach of his guest. The roast, or *asado*, which was the entire side of a sheep, filled the air with a savory fragrance, and Mike smiled in modest self approval, for his fame as a "warrant" to cook a roast was well established.

"There isn't a fork in the place, Father Fahey," he said, apologetically, "but maybe you wouldn't mind using this awl;" and he took that useful instrument from the place where it was buried halfway to the hilt in the wall of the hut. "Here y'ar, yer reverence," and he proceeded to clean it energetically on the tail of his coat.

"Tut, tut: Mike, don't trouble about a fork, and keep your awl to sew your gear." So saying the worthy *soggarth* produced a serviceable looking "Rogers" from his boot-top, and the banquet began.

Later on there was a friendly struggle about the bed, and it was only by strenuous persistence on Mike's part that the priest could be induced to sleep on the stretcher.

That the reader who has never known the shepherd's life in Argentina may the better understand the foregoing paragraphs and my own remarks as to the lack of household comforts in the majority of shepherd's huts in the early days of sheep-farming I will lay the article just quoted from under tribute once more. For no writer that I have any acquaintance with has so genuinely entered into the spirit of camp-life, and so accurately and sympathetically described it as Bulfin. After describing the home of a sheep-farmer grown wealthy he pictures this same man's first dwelling:

There was only a mud-wall cabin then instead of the spacious dwelling house of the present. It was designed by the occupant and

built largely by the labor of his hands. Let me present this *rancho* to your imagination if I can.

The roof is of rushes or of long sedge, which does not allow a single drop of water to enter as long as the weather is fine. The door is made of stout boards and can be strongly barred. A hole in the roof serves as a chimney, and holes here and there in the walls serve as windows. In one gable of this monumental structure there is an iron spike which is about six feet from the ground and which protrudes about two feet from the wall. It is for hanging up the carcass of mutton for the maintenance of the family which consists of the squatter, his men and dogs. Leaning against the other gable is an enfeebled ladder from the perilous summit of which can be obtained a limited view of the surrounding camp. The flock, the saddle horses, the cows, and other objects of interest can at times be located, and in fact it is the general political, meteorological, astronomical and military observatory of the colony. Besides the ladder there is no other exterior adornment. Let us therefore glance inside.

The same sobriety of tone—the same austerity of line—the same simplicity of arrangement prevails in the architectural design of the interior. The floor is of virgin earth, with the grass trampled down, with here and there a flea, and here and there a frog, to give it a homely air. Now and then a snake drops in, but not relishing this bloated civilization he departs—goes back to the rustling thistle clump outside and tells the other snakes that housekeeping is a sanguinary failure. The space between the walls, like the ocean or the France of Robespierre, is one and indivisible. There is no attempt to raise partitions, and the banqueting hall, the reception room, the library, the sleeping apartments, are all worked into one apartment which cannot be much less than twelve feet by eight. The height is in exquisite relation to the stature of the occupant and architect. He can stand up comfortably without dashing his head through the roof, no matter what may be his hurry. If the floor aspires to approach the roof, or if the roof endeavored to reach down to the floor, the resourceful architect procures his spade and normalizes the situation. He scrapes away some of the earth and heaves it out of the door.

The bed, which occupies one corner, is an ordinary stretcher with a tough horsehide instead of canvas. A few woolly skins serve as a mattress and a weatherbeaten and superannuated poncho takes the place of sheets and counterpane. The nightly illumination is supplied by a home-made tallow candle, stuck some degrees out of the perpendicular into the short neck of a square-shouldered bottle that began

life in the gin trade. There are hanging on the wall a kettle, a pot, a frying pan, a drinking cup, a candle mould and a few spare objects of riding gear. A bag of camp biscuit dangles from the roof. An empty packing-case turned bottom upwards, serves as a table. Under it are stored tea, sugar, rice and other provisions. When the black ants come along the box is surrounded by a fosse of four inches deep, which is filled with water. This places an impassable barrier before the devastating march of the enemy, and the box with its coveted treasure remains secure and undisturbed in stately and splendid isolation. An aged trunk in another corner holds all the squatter's wardrobe and valuables. Chairs or stools there were none. The only seats were two or three skeleton skulls of cows picked up on the open camp. A cow-head stool is not altogether unknown now, but it was a very common piece of furniture in those days. The skull was thrown on the ground with the lower jaw underneath; the forehead furnished the seat, and the horns did duty for superfluous ornamentation. Such as it was, the cow's-head stool was the only seat to be had. If you visited the squatter, you might sit on the bed if he himself was not already in occupation thereof. If the bed was occupied you could sit on the lid of the trunk, unless it had already been smashed in by a former guest. If neither the trunk nor the bed was available, then you had the alternative of sitting on the cow's head or taking chances on the floor.

Such, more or less, was the type of the building inhabited by the pioneer sheep-farmer. Near it stood a similar although still less pretentious structure. It was the abode of the herds and workmen. It accommodated in a general way as many as could get in. The surplus population remained outside. Although it was the sleeping quarters of the station hands still there were no beds. In fact the only bed for twenty miles all around you was the horse-skin couch which we saw in the corner of the master's hut. In those days nearly every man's bed was his riding gear, as it is in many cases yet.

Bulfin's description is in his well-known humorous vein, with plentiful ornamentation and sometimes, perhaps, what would seem too generous coloring, but there is no invention, no over-drawing, in the picture. And these were the homes, in the majority of cases, to which Father Fahey's visits were made, and where he oftentimes had to hold stations in his first years of missionary labor in the camps. Of

course in the older settled districts things were better, but new settlements—moving further out—were the order of the day then. Quickly, however, with a few prosperous years, the planting of trees and the building of comfortable houses followed on the pioneer settlements described above. And it was the experience of the rapidity with which improvement and comparative comfort came to these first rude and uninviting habitations that impelled Father Fahey to always urge the young and healthy Irishmen whom he knew around town to go to the camp, to become sheep-farmers and land owners. The number of wealthy Irish-Argentines to be met with to-day who owe, in the first instance, their truly enviable positions to those urgings and counsellings of that saintly and wise priest may not be known, but they surely run into many hundreds.

With a flock as large and scattered over such an area as was that of Father Fahey, one would suppose, having in view how zealously he attended to its spiritual wants, that he could have few spare moments to devote to other labors and interests. Christenings, marriages and burials were increasing among his faithful; many new arrivals from the old land had to be helped with counsel, recommendations to employers and sometimes more material things had to be done for them. But with all these cares, troublesome and wearying enough in their way, a heavier and more heart-aching anxiety came to him with every fresh tidings from the homeland. Famine and sickness and death were spreading over all the beloved old motherland. Multitudes of the people for whose sake he would gladly give his life were falling down by the wayside in the awful agony of hunger. Oh, who will ever adequately picture what were the sorrows of Forty-Seven? Fully four million people in that fair island condemned wilfully and systematically to the tortures of hunger till half that number had been destroyed, the remainder barely surviving, and existing in a condition the most miserable that human beings have ever had to endure. How the Irish priests suffered and toiled in that

awful time but One knows. Father Fahey bore his part in that toil. Early in '47 he appealed to his people in Buenos Aires to lend a hand in the relief of the famine sufferers. He called them together at his house, he went amongst them at their work, he searched them out in town and camp and had them give of their savings all they could possibly afford in the helpful effort. Every cent subscribed and the name of every subscriber he had published in the paper that circulated most amongst them. I so much consider the names of those who then subscribed as the first honor roll of our people in Argentina that I give the list in full. Some of the subscribers were at the time but a few months in the country, and their figuring in this list speaks well for their patriotism and for their ability to get on in business. The whole list, as may be seen, is of great credit to the organizers of the subscription and to the subscribers. There are some non-Irish names in it, to the owners of which I hope, and believe, the Irish of those days duly manifested their gratitude. This was the good priest's first appeal of its kind to his people and how well they responded to it the number of names that follow will sufficiently explain. There are thousands of Argentine citizens to-day who can trace themselves to these subscribers, and I hope they will feel pride in doing so.

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FATHER FAHEY—HIS CONGREGATION, ETC. 149

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T. McGuire.....	50 "	quista.....	100 "
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T. McGuire.....	20 "	Cornelius Garahan.....	100 "
James Ferguson.....	20 "	Thomas Kenny.....	100 "
W. Dalton.....	20 "	James Dowling.....	100 "
J. Nally.....	20 "	William Whitty.....	100 "
James Murray.....	20 "	James McDonnell.....	100 "
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Michael Garahan.....	50 "	John Berry.....	50 "
Thomas Collins.....	50 "	Peter Murray.....	50 "
Patrick Kenny.....	50 "	John Kelly.....	50 "
Frederick McDonald.....	50 "	Thomas Wire.....	50 "
John Cowan.....	50 "	J. B.....	50 "
James Shannon.....	50 "	Jacinto Tellaferro.....	50 "
Patrick Keating.....	50 "	Chiney Hickman.....	50 "
Farrel Reddy.....	50 "	Daniel Mackinlay.....	50 "
Richard Geoghegan.....	50 "	William Roach.....	50 "
Michael Geraghty.....	50 "	Mrs. Robert Kelly.....	50 "
Peter Martin.....	50 "	W. J.....	50 "
Richard Wheeler.....	50 "	Patrick Lynagh.....	50 "
Patrick Kilmurry.....	50 "	Bernard Wheeler.....	30 "
Edmund Quirk.....	50 "	Michael Tyrrell.....	30 "
John Moran.....	50 "	Terence McGovern.....	30 "
Thomas Keating.....	50 "	James Reilly.....	25 "
John Hogan.....	50 "	Robert Brewer.....	20 "
James Synnot.....	50 "	Thomas Sherlock.....	20 "
Nicholas Hier.....	50 "	John Smith.....	20 "
Mr. Jacobs.....	50 "	William Horton.....	20 "
Michael Shaughness.....	50 "	Edward Moore.....	20 "
James Pendan.....	50 "	Alexander McNamara.....	20 "
Peter Ham.....	50 "	Edward Kelly.....	20 "
Michael Geoghegan.....	50 "	Thomas Cormack.....	20 "
John Duffy.....	50 "	Timothy Cormack.....	20 "
Thomas Scott.....	50 "	Francis Carey.....	20 "
William Kelly.....	50 "	Patrick Harford.....	20 "
John Nolan.....	50 "	John Gardiner.....	20 "
John Malcolm.....	50 "	John Ford.....	20 "
Michael Healean.....	50 "	Brian Rourk.....	20 "
William McKenna.....	50 "	Sylvester Waters.....	20 "
Thomas Noghten.....	50 "	James Elia.....	20 "
Peter Banin.....	50 "	Joseph Benetan.....	20 "
John Banin.....	50 "	Edward Dillon.....	20 "
Edward Banin.....	50 "	James Kilmurry.....	20 "
James McCann.....	50 "	Mary Nolan.....	20 "
Mrs. Bookey.....	50 "	Catherine Bookey.....	20 "
Hector McKern.....	50 "	Margaret Bookey.....	20 "
Bridget Mulcahy.....	50 "	Mary Bookey.....	20 "
Mathew Kernan.....	50 "	Patrick Bookey, Jr.....	20 "
Captain Craig.....	50 "	William Bookey.....	20 "
Mrs. James Scully.....	50 "	Thomas Bookey.....	20 "

FATHER FAHEY—HIS CONGREGATION, ETC. 151

James Murray 20 c/1 A Benevolent Individual .. 20 " Richard Sutton..... 20 " Edward Frahill, Son..... 50 " Patrick McGin..... 40 " Robert Paterson..... 25 " William Pickle..... 25 " William Hardy..... 10 " Wilfred Latham..... 200 " Jacob Chapman..... 200 " Thomas Bell..... 100 " John Scott..... 100 " James Scott..... 100 " Thomas Murphy..... 100 " Peter Sherry..... 100 " John Clark..... 100 "		Bernard Wallace..... 100 c/1 David Fleming..... 1 oz. gold Christopher Kennedy..... 50 " Bernard McConnel..... 50 " Mrs. C. Hartley..... 50 " Michael Henly..... 100 " Robert Nugent..... 50 " Michael Nugent..... 50 " Patrick Moran..... 50 " James Lowery..... 50 " Wm. Ramidge..... 50 " Michael Grinnon..... 30 " Patrick Headuan..... 30 " Michael Nally..... 30 " Patrick Glynn..... 20 "
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The total amounted to £441-1-10 and was forwarded to the Central Committee, Dublin.

“El Viejo Bruno”—Old Brown—as Rosas used to familiarly call the Admiral, had now been some time retired from active service, and as the Republic was at peace with its neighbors he was granted a leave of absence for several months. He was then seventy years of age and had been nearly all his life away from Ireland; his brother, Michael I presume, was then living in the old land and thither the Admiral turned to spend his vacation. He left Buenos Aires in July, 1847, and probably got to Ireland in the following September. We can imagine what a sad homecoming it must have been for the pensive and kindly-hearted old man, and what a contrast he pictured between the proud and hopeful land he had just left and the despair and humiliation that was everywhere in the ravaged country he had come to. Yet it was the maligned “Latin” that held sway in the one and the glorified Anglo-Saxon that lorded it in the other! I am not aware that Brown gave expression in any form to the impressions which that visit to his native land made on him, but in view of the appalling conditions which prevailed in the Autumn of that direful year

he must surely have blest the star that took him from under English rule in Ireland.

In the Forties the arrival of many Irish immigrants is recorded in the press, and deaths and marriages are of numerous mention. Among the deaths is that of Father Patrick J. O'Gorman. He was 46 years of age, and was buried in the vault of the clergy in the Recoleta. He had been sixteen years in Buenos Aires but seems to have been superseded in the Irish Chaplaincy by Father Fahey some years before his demise, he had been ailing for some time.

In the middle Forties David Suffern of Belfast came to Buenos Aires, with his family, and established a saddlery and harness importing business. His son David took a leading part in all Irish-Argentine affairs in the latter quarter of the last century. In January, '47, the following Irish arrived in Buenos Aires by the Sardinia: Francis Carey, Timothy Cormack, John Nally, Patrick Hafford, Nicholas Kenny, Laurance McGuire, Nicholas Leary. It is well to keep a record of the early comers, as someone may yet arise with race-patriotism enough in him for the making of the task of collecting and publishing all such old records and memories of those of our race who came here first, a labor of love and pride, and every item preserved will help him.

Political life in Buenos Aires during the Rosas regime was anything but attractive, except for two distinct classes—those who set no great value on their lives, and those of very docile conscience. Although our people remained well on the outside of both these classes, their aloofness was not absolute, and the long prominent political and commercial family of Lynch figures occasionally in the meager political news of the days of the Tyranny. Some of them, as related, had their throats cut, more of them were in exile and their properties were commonly confiscated. Don Estanislao writing from his exile in Chili to his brother Don Patricio in exile in Montevideo calls Rosas a "maldito gaicho" ("a damned half-savage" mildly trans-

lates the term), and is not so sanguine of his immediate fall as are some of his friends. The letter comes into the Dictator's hands and he has it published, adding that the Lynches are traitors, filthy, disgusting savages and ingrates. The *ingratitude* arises from the fact that on Mrs. Lynch's appeal some of her confiscated property was restored to her. General O'Brien having extricated himself, by whatever means, from the Dictator's clutches had something to say in a Liverpool paper about Don Juan Manuel's manner of administering justice, and the Restorer's papers at once got after the General and belabored him with the utmost liberality of epithets—a Unitarian could scarcely be more abominable in their sight. How tame and dull political life has become since then! The press, President, ministers or leaders seldom call anybody a traitor, *asqueroso* is no longer a political adjective, and even the naked ones of the Chaco are scarcely called savages. Intervention has been established in the Queen Province and Ugarte walked out without even throwing up a barricade or mounting a cantonment! What changes in a life-time! Such that one can fancy Rosas, Lavalle or Urquiza, if all or any of them could now express an opinion, repeating the reflection of a late friend of mine on the present-day hurlers and foot-ballers in Ireland. My friend was an old sheep-farmer, and a few years ago, when a young priest was here from Ireland, on collecting bent, he, my friend, made anxious and detailed inquiries from the clergyman as to how the old games and pastimes were being kept up at home. The priest was enthusiastic in relating how all the good old ways were being revived and improved upon, and boasted of the safe and scientific way in which the games were being played as compared with long ago—"no back strokes, no tripping, no butting, no kicking, no danger at all," flourished forth the clergyman, triumphantly. My old friend gave a bit of a cough that was half a grunt, and with a contemptuous look to one side muttered: "The people are becoming degenerate."

CHAPTER X

THE IRISH HOSPITAL, REPORTS OF ITS COMMITTEE AND DOCTOR—SUBSCRIBERS TO THE INFIRMARY FUND—ARMSTRONG, KIERNAN, McCANN—ROSAS AND THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT—FATHER FAHEY THANKED BY CONGRESS—CITY'S LIMITS IN 1850—GOVERNMENTS OF THE FIRST FORTY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC.

WIDE as was scattered Father Fahey's flock and constant and urgent as were its need of his ministrations, still he continued to find time for labors in its behalf other than those we may call strictly spiritual. He was but a very short while in Buenos Aires when he was convinced of the great need there was for various institutions for the moral and material protection and comfort of his people. More chaplains were needed, more schools, more teachers, more means of helpfulness for a community so exposed to physical and moral dangers. The needed priests in time would come, so would the teachers, in the persons of the good Sisters of Mercy, the schools he dreamed of would arise in time, but all could wait a little—all but the succor for the sick poor. With him no call however urgent was so urgent as this one; no need was so great as the need of the sick, and so the founding of an Irish Infirmary was the first great work of benevolence to which the good father bent his efforts. With the continuance of the famine years of the terrible Forties emigration to Buenos Aires as to the United States and Canada increased rapidly and in a form to cause alarm, for the condition of the immigrants on their arrival in the

new country was frequently very miserable. Many were extremely poor and no small proportion of them still in the clutches of famine-engendered disease. Of all the many needs of the community, then, a refuge and relief for the sick and wounded was the most pressing, a means to meet the first and most appealing want of the poor, a hospital had to be provided. The Irish people, always generous when appealed to frankly and in a worthy cause, seconded Father Fahey's efforts spiritedly and the Irish Infirmary was soon a reality. How much of good that institution did for the Irish immigrants of the middle of the last century, in Buenos Aires, is not to be told in this world; but it is no wild conjecture to say that the founders of many proud and worthy families in the Argentina of our day would have gone to early graves in the pauper's pit only for it.

In view of the great usefulness of this our first Irish institution in Argentina, and because of its historic importance, it is a great pleasure to me to be able to give in full the first report and balance sheet of the Infirmary Society. It is a publication of great importance to the Irish community in view of some strange arguments we heard in recent years as to whether an Irish Hospital ever existed or not in Buenos Aires. The statement of the Infirmary Committee, the Doctor's Report and the list of subscribers for the year 1848-9 will settle this point and fully explain the scope and usefulness of the institution, as well as the nature and amount of public support it received. I shall, therefore, set them down here, and I have no doubt they will deeply interest many of my readers for I know that but very little is now remembered of that once beneficent establishment. It is strange what forgetfulness, what little of tradition there is amongst us as regards the early Irish settlers. The newness of the country, its rapid growth, the heretofore nomadic kind of life of the sheep-farmer, which was the life of most of our people up to a score of years ago, and most of all the struggle to

get on in the world may account for this peculiar characteristic, but can scarcely excuse it. I have frequently met Irishmen and Irish-Argentines who regarded Father Fahey as the first Irish Chaplain, if not the first Irishman who came to the country. I have only met a few who knew that there was such an institution as an Irish Hospital here before the coming of the Sisters of Mercy, although, as will be seen, nearly all the Irish of seventy years ago contributed to its support and upkeep.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS, DOCTOR'S REPORT AND LIST OF
SUBSCRIBERS, BUENOS AIRES IRISH INFIRMARY,
OCT., 1849.

The Committee of the Irish Immigrant Infirmary beg leave to lay the following statement before the Subscribers, and they trust that the relief afforded to so many persons will be an inducement to those who have not hitherto contributed to support so valuable an institution.

The Infirmary was established for the purpose of receiving sick immigrants, whether men, women or children, or any poor family from the country, who might be unable to procure medical assistance.

The Committee have had built three additional rooms for the accommodation of female patients; these buildings together with the expenses incurred for beds and furniture of all kinds suitable to such an institution, have naturally absorbed a good deal of money. But the strictest economy has been adopted as far as circumstances would permit.

In consequence of the large number of immigrants that landed here in the month of July the Committee were obliged to ask donations from the English and American residents of this city, and the handsome and generous manner in which they met that call deserves the warmest gratitude of the Committee.

The total of subscriptions was.....	\$24,400.00	
Do. from sick patients.....	7,410.00	
Interest.....	1,448.00	
Donations from English and North American Gentle- men.....	15,250.00	
		<hr/>
	\$48,598.00	
The current expenses of the year including the Matron's salary and assistants were.....		
		\$13,887.07
Groceries.....		2,550.00
Fuel.....		1,450.00
To paid for building 9 rooms and watercloset.....		10,050.00
To paid for bedsteads, mattresses, blankets, sheets, tables, presses and chairs.....		4,500.00
To paid Mr. Cranwell for medicines.....		2,258.00
To paid for general repairs of the Infirmary.....		2,200.00
To paid Dr. Donovan for the year.....		4,800.00
		<hr/>
		\$42,157.70
Balance in Treasurer's hands.....		6,447.10
		<hr/>
	\$48,598.00	\$48,598.00

A. D. FAHEY, Chairman of the Committee.
BART. FOLEY, Secretary.
PATRICK BOOKBY, Treasurer.

Buenos Aires, Sept. 30, 1849.

DOCTOR'S REPORT.

The medical report of the Irish Infirmary for the last year, ending the 30th of September, and which I now have the honor to lay before the Subscribers is as follows:

The total number of patients admitted was 158; of these 116 were men, 26 women and 16 children. The diseases under which they labored were as follows: Fevers 46, rheumatism 6, wounds 7, diseases of the lungs 8, liver 2, heart 2, lumbago 5, scrofula 2, fever and ague 1, inflammation of the bowels and stomach 23, burns 3, dysentery 7, epilepsy 1, chlorisis 1, cerebral affections 9, hypochondriasis 2, erysipelas 1, postula maligna 1, dyspepsia

6, colic 1, contusions 2; 138 were discharged cured, 15 died, and 5 remain in the Infirmary. Out-door relief was also afforded to 17 persons at different periods having had no accommodation in the Infirmary. Of the surgical cases there were a few of importance, two of the fractures were of a serious nature—one a compound fracture of the lower jaw, another of both bones of the fore-arm with laceration of the soft parts and division of the principal blood vessels from a gun shot wound; both terminated favorably. A third who had a chronic disease of the leg and ankle joint of many years' standing, submitted to amputation of the limb and is now in the enjoyment of good health.

The establishment has conferred incalculable benefit on the new immigrants who have arrived during the past year, as also on several of our countrymen who came in sick from the country.

I beg to return my warmest thanks to Dr. Browne for his invaluable services and punctual attendance at all times when invited, as also to Doctors Dick, Lepper and Almeyra, who have on several occasions rendered important services.

CORNELIUS DONOVAN, M. D.

Buenos Aires, Sept. 30, 1849.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE IRISH INFIRMARY FUND.

\$500 each from the following: Thomas Armstrong, Bernard Kiernan, Patrick Bookey, Patrick Browne, George Dowdal, Rev. A. D. Fahey, Wilfrid Latham.

\$300, Patrick Fleming.

\$200 each: An Argentine, Laurence Brown, Edmund Cranwell, Peter Chalmer, Joseph Dowling, Bartholomew Foley, P. D. Gordon, John Mooney, James McDonnell, John McKiernan, Terence Moore, Austin R. Smith, James Sheridan, Michael Heavy.

\$150, James Hennessy.

\$100 each: Thomas Barry, Nicholas Clancy, James Carthy, Laurance Carey, Captain Craig, Dr. Donovan, Thomas Doyle, John Duffy, David Flynn, John Griffin, William Graham, Henry Hayes, James Kenny, John Kerns, Robert Kelly, Mathew Kiernan, William Kelly, William Kelly, Joseph Kilmurry, Patrick Lynch, William Lennon, Peter Murray, Henry Murray, William Moore, John Murray, M. Mullery, Thomas Muleady, Peter Martin, John Murtagh, Thomas Monteleer, Patrick Moore, John Nolan, James Neeson, Joseph Ronan, E. Synnot, Patrick Stafford, Peter Sherry, David Suffern, John Shannon, Thomas Simpson, Edward Wheeler, Robert Wilson, Bryan Wallace.

\$90, Michael Kenny.

\$75, Anonymous.

\$60 each: Terence Daly, Thomas McGouran.

\$50 each: John Allen, John Browne, Robert Brewer, William Burns, John Burns, John Brenan, Laurence Banin, John Bryan, John Browne, Andrew Burke, Michael Brenan, Michael Burns, John Berry, Casinio Balumbro, Francis Brady, Conor Brenan, James Donohue, Francis Dillon, John Dinegan, Bryan Dinegan, Henry Dillon, Patrick Doherty, Patrick Dalton, John Doherty, James Dalton, John Dillon, Michael Dillon, Patrick Daly, Michael Duffy, Daniel Donovan, James Dunn, William Dalton, James Duffy, Patrick Evers, Henry Eliff, Bryan Eliff, Patrick Farrell, James Furlong, Thomas Fitzgerald, Michael Farrell, A friend, per B. Kelly, Peter Fitzharris, Christopher Finlay, Thomas Finan, Thomas Fallon, Daniel Cormack, Timothy Cormack, John Connor, Francis Carey, Samuel S. Collins, John Carey, Thomas Carey, John Carey, Joseph Cunningham, John Cullen, Patrick Colmuck, Thomas Carroll, John Cormack, George Cummins, John Crowley, Robert Collins, James Carey, Denis Connor, Michael Conry, Laurence Casey, John Cunningham, Thomas Cormack, John Downey, Peter Dillon, Patrick Duffy, James Downes, Michael Donohue, Patrick Donohue, John Dunleavy, Richard Farrell,

James Ferguson, Patrick Fegan, Patrick Feenon, John Fox, Mathew Farrell, John Fitzstephen, Patrick Glynn, John Geoghegan, Michael Geraghty, John Gardiner, Michael Grennon, Edward Gormly, Michael Gardiner, Michael Geoghegan, Patrick Gardener, Connor Graham, Malachy Gilligan, John Harrington, Jr., Timothy Harrington, John Hogan, Michael Heavy, Jr., Michael Healin, Michael Hussey, Thomas Heavy, John Heavy, Michael Henly, John Hyland, William Hardy, Francis Hoare, James Hussey, Edward Hanly, Nicholas Hier, David Hood, Thomas Joyce, Bernard Joyce, Charles Jordan, John Jackson, Thomas Keating, Timothy Kelly, William Killeen, Owen Kelly, Michael Kelly, Sen., Patrick Kelly, Michael Kelly, John Kelly, Peter Kenny, Patrick Kilimuth, James Kelly, James Kilmurry, John Keen, Christopher Kennedy, James Kilmurray, Patrick Keating, Patrick Kilmurray, Edward Kearney, Patrick Kenny, Edward Kelly, Michael Kenny, Patrick Kilmurray, Nicholas Kent, Francis Kelly, Thomas Kiernan, Patrick Kenny, Michael Lawless, Owen Lynch, James Lewis, John Lawler, Thomas Ledwick, William Lynch, James Larkin, James Lennon, Martin Loughey, Thomas Lanargen, Nicholas Leary, Martin Loughlan, John Lyn, John Linan, Thomas McKeogh, Patrick Murtagh, John McDonald, Laurence McGuire, Patrick McGuire, Andrew Mahon, James McGuire, Thomas Miller, Michael McDonnell, Patrick Moran, Thomas Murphy, Christopher McGuire, John McGuire, Patrick Mahon, Michael Murray, Peter McGrath, Edward Moran, Thomas McGuire, Michael Murray, Patrick McDonnell, John McKeon, James Murray, Hugh McCrawley, Hugh Mullen, Peter McLoughlin, William Loughlan, John McGuire, Patrick Muleady, Michael McCann, Thomas McGeavy, Patrick McLoughlan, John Murphy, John McLoughlan, Edward McGaw, John Moran, Peter McGuire, Peter Mather, Thomas Murphy, Thomas Scully-Murray, John Mulvany, Michael McDonnell, Patrick McBritony, John Murphy, Peter Millor, Patrick Murphy, Thomas Murray, James Murray, James

Murphy, Peter Martin, Peter Neary, Thomas Nally, Thomas Norton, John Nally, John Naughton, Michael Nally, Henry O'Neill, James O'Neill, James Hallard, Michael Phillips, James Pender, Patrick Pugh, James Quinn, John Ronan, Michael Rooney, Patrick Rooney, David Robert, William Roach, Michael Rafferty, Farril Reddy, Edward Rickard, John Scally, James Synnot, James Scott, Edward Slammon, James Street, Michael Scully, James Shaughness, John Shaughness, Loughlan Scott, John Shaughness, Thomas Scott, James Scully, James Shaughness, Michael Tyrrell, Patrick Tyrrell, James Tuite, Bernard Wheeler, Richard Wheeler, John Wynn, John Wheeler, James Wallace, Richard Wilson, Michael Walsh, Edward Slevin, Edmund Ward, James Young.

\$40 each: Laurence Dullon, John Lynch, Barney Manning, Anonymous.

\$20 each: Thomas Clark, John Cowan, John Dowlan, Michael Gill, George Harris, Patrick Martin, Michael Manning, Patrick Phillips, Edward Quirk, Patrick Quirk, George Stephens, Christopher Scully.

\$15, John Lumb.

\$10 each: Michael Cormack, James Finlay, Thomas Mulligan, John Risk, Patrick Ward, James Ward, Martin Fleming.

\$200, Herrera & Baudriz.

Total, \$24,540.

EMERGENCY COLLECTION.

The Committee of the Irish Infirmery beg leave to express their best thanks to the following gentlemen for their liberal donations which enabled the institution to relieve a large number of the sick immigrants who landed here in July:

\$500 each: Henry Sothern, Esq., H. B. M. Plenipotentiary, Martin J. Hood, Esq., H. B. M. Consul; Messrs. Thomas Armstrong, Hughes Bros., John Galt, Smith &

Co., Edward Lumb & Co., Barber & Co., J. C. Thompson & Co., Delisle Bros. & Co., Thomas Duguid & Co., Nicholas Green & Co., R. & J. Carlisle & Co., Philip Tompkinson & Co., Edmond Mackinlay & Co., Alexander Rodgers & Co., Zimmerman, Fraizer & Co., Daniel Gowland, Brownell, Stegman & Co., Oliver J. Hayes & Co., Bookey & Bletcher.

\$300 each: Dickson & Co., Briscoe & Co., Dr. Alexander Brown, Bradshaw, Wankin & Co., Plowes, Atkinson & Co., Admiral Brown.

\$200 each: Samuel Hesse, James White & Co., Getting, Miller & Co., Robert Hudson, Wilson Jacobs, Henry Mullens, James Carthy, George S. Macome, George Ashworth, Renne Macfarlane & Co., Nutual & Co., Patrick McLean & Co., Turner & Co., W. R. Walls & Co., William Anderson.

\$100 each: A friend, Bagley Bros., Charles R. Horne, Capt. Graham.

\$50, Isidro Vidal.

1 ton of coal, Thomas Bell, John Langton.

A. D. FAHEY, Chairman of the Committee.

BART. FOLEY, Secretary.

PATRICK BOOKEY, Treasurer.

Buenos Aires, Sept. 30, 1849.

The first important event in the affairs of the Irish of Argentina in the year 1850 was the total destruction, by fire, in the month of January, of Thomas Armstrong's saladera. Armstrong although said to be of the same family as was the infamous betrayer of the brothers Shears was very popular amongst the Irish and justly so. No man was ever more ready to assist his poorer countrymen than he, and, though not himself a Catholic, Father Fahey had no more generous and steadfast friend and helper in everything he sought to do for the spiritual and temporal advancement of his flock. He was a man of the very best business capabilities; one of the largest foreign-born land-owners, a prominent merchant, owned mills and meat curing

factories and was for long a director of the Government Bank. In the employment of help in the many lines of business he was engaged in he always gave preference to his own countrymen, and many of them owed their rise in the world, at first, to his help and advice.

James Kiernan of the "Gaceta Mercantil," official organ of Rosas, died this year at the age of 44 years, twenty-six of which he had passed in Buenos Aires. Bernard Kiernan, his father, came to Argentina from North America, in 1824. This was the time when the movement of "Irish Yankees" from the States to the Plate commenced. Kiernan was highly praised at the time of his death for his consistency and other good qualities. The British Packet said of him amongst other things: "But to his credit be it recorded, no one ever dared to impune the sincerity of his motives and professions, the consistency of his public conduct, or the unsullied purity of his private character." He learned the printing business in the Gaceta printing office and remained all the rest of his life connected with the paper, becoming in time editor and part proprietor thereof. He must have been a very bright young man for he became editor of the paper within five years of his arrival in the country, and when he was but twenty-four years of age, acquiring an exceptionally ready command of the Spanish language.

McCann started an agency in Buenos Aires, in 1848, for the bringing out, on easy terms, of Irishmen and Irish families. The terms on which he did business were somewhat peculiar, and I think are worth recording as a curiosity, if for nothing else. The emigrant would be taken to Buenos Aires for ten pounds, cash, if paid in Ireland; for fifteen pounds, cash, if paid in Buenos Aires, with, in both cases, good security for the further payment of seven pounds when the emigrant had earned that much money, but all such emigrants should first present a certificate of good character from the Clergyman and Magistrate of their parish. The enterprise McCann was connected with enabled

a great many Irishmen and Irishwomen to come to the Plate, and Father Fahey's reply to the writer on Rosas in the Dublin Review must have resulted in a kind of boom of Buenos Aires among the people at home. The reply drew a letter from Archbishop Murray explaining Father Fahey's standing and responsibilities, which was published with a letter from the Bishop of Buenos Aires and a statement of the British business men of Argentina in favor of Rosas and his Government. The State Department took the matter up with the English Government, seeking to have the writer of the libellous article in the "Review" brought to justice, but Lord Palmerstoun put in the plea for his Government's non-interference, that there was full liberty of the press in the United Kingdom. This is a good specimen of the English statesman's regard for truth—"full liberty of the press" one year, or so, after the suppression of Mitchel's paper, the *Nation* and many other nationalist organs. And the probabilities are that most of those, outside the Irish, who read the reply of this *Noble* Lord believed it to be true, and the matter dropped for the moment. Later on the whole correspondence was placed before the National Congress and Father Fahey received its thanks for his letter. The question must have placed Rosas and his Government, and his country in a very favorable light before the people of Ireland, and no doubt raised Father Fahey greatly in the esteem and friendship of Don Juan Manuel and his party. It was commonly believed by the Irish of his time that Father Fahey could obtain any favor he desired and which might be in the giving of Rosas. Father Fahey, however, was not a courtier or politician, he had no time for things wholly outside his duties as Irish Chaplain, and any influence he possessed with the Dictator was used for the encouraging and safeguarding of his people in their lawful and honorable pursuits.

Struggling through the busy streets of Buenos Aires in these days of rapid automobiles and motorcycles, with their nerve-racking screams and tootings one could almost wish

for a revival of the strict laws and their sharp enforcement of the Rosas times. In the police-court reports of 70 years ago it is not a rare thing to meet with records of fines inflicted on men for galloping their horses in the city streets, and amongst the mulcted one runs across such names as Sheridan, Quinn, and others like, but in truth Irish names are extremely rare in such documents. Whatever may be said about the Dictator as a politician or statesman he enforced the law, such as it was, and had it duly respected. In that way the Buenos Aires of our time could take a leaf out of his book, with reference to municipal order, that would prove to its advantage. The manner in which trams and other vehicles are allowed to interrupt pedestrian traffic at the street crossings, and the perfect security with which idle groups of men may occupy the narrow sidewalks, to the inconvenience and annoyance of people passing to and fro about their business, is a serious reflection on those charged with the order and traffic of the streets. I understand there is a law dealing intelligently with these matters but the police have been allowed to let it become a dead letter.

According to old maps of the city published in the Federal Almanac for the early Fifties the present splendid thoroughfare, Callao, was then on the Western limit of the Capital, and the Irish Convent soon after established was as much on the outside of the city as the present Irish Orphanage, in Avenida Gaona, was when it was first opened.

In closing this chapter and passing from the reign of Rosas to the new order of things it will be instructive, historically, and useful for reference purposes, to include, chronologically, a list of the governors and systems under which Buenos Aires and the territory which acknowledged its hegemony lived, from the deposition of the Spanish Viceroy, in May, 1810, to the fall of Rosas in February, 1852.

The Cabildo was a sort of aldermanic body or council

of selectmen very closely representative of the populace, and politically all-powerful in times of crisis. When the people demanded "Cabildo abierto" (open council meeting) they should have it, and there they made their will known to the City Fathers, and that body generally executed it. The body which in time replaced the old Cabildo is now called the Consejo Diliberante (deliberative council), but has no such power as the old institution.

May 25, 1810, Independence Day, Colonel Cornelius Saavedra, President of the Governing Junta which replaced the Spanish Viceroy, Cisneros.

August 26, 1811, Domingo Mateu replaced Saavedra.

December 23, 1811, Government of Triunvirate was established; Feliciano A. Chiclana, Juan José Pazos and Manuel Sarratea formed this body.

October 8, 1812, the foregoing were superseded, Juan José Pazos, President, Francisco Belgrano, and Antonio Alvarez de Fonte.

February 20, 1813, a new body called the Sovereign Assembly, named as the supreme executive authority Messrs. Peña, Alvarez, Fonte and Julian Perez.

January 31, 1814, the Assembly dissolved the supreme executive power and created the Supreme Director of State and elected to this office Gervasio Posadas.

January 1, 1815, General Carlos Alvear had himself named Dictator.

April 21, 1815, Alvear was deposed and General Rondeau set up in his stead.

April 16, 1816, the Junta of Observation named Antonio Gonzalez Balcarce Supreme Director.

July 11, 1816, Balcarce deposed by the same Junta.

July 29, 1816, Juan Martin de Pueyrredon selected for Supreme Director by the National Congress of Tucuman. Pueyrredon was the first really constitutional and national Governor. He was, as we have seen, of French-Irish descent, his mother's name being Rita Dogan. He served

a term of very nearly three years, thus making, for those times, a remarkable record.

July 9, 1819, Rondeau chosen provisional Supreme Director.

January 21, 1820, Rondeau substituted by Juan P. Aguirre.

February 5, 1820, Rondeau resumed power as Supreme Director.

February 11, 1820, the Cabildo assumed power and dissolved the Congress.

February 12, 1820, the Cabildo named Miguel Irigoyen, Provincial Governor.

February 16, 1820, the Cabildo named Miguel Sarratea, Governor in Perpetuity.

March 6, 1820, Juan Ramon Balcarce had himself named Governor.

May 2, 1820, Ildefonso Ramos Mexia was chosen Governor.

June 13, 1820, the Cabildo had to resume control, owing to Mexia resigning.

June 23, 1820, Miguel E. Soler became Governor.

June 30, 1820, Soler resigned and the Cabildo governed again.

July 3, 1820, Colonel Manuel Dorrego chosen, provisionally, to govern.

September 28, 1820, General Martin Rodriguez elected. Another record. Rodriguez held office more than three years, and governed very well.

April 2, 1824, General Juan Gregorio Las Heras elected. Another very good governor; held office nearly two years.

February 8, 1826, Bernardino Rivadavia elected by Congress, President of the Republic.

July 7, 1827, Vicente Lopez replaces Rivadavia, provisionally.

August 12, 1827, Colonel Dorrego elected Governor by the Representative Junta.

December 1, 1828, Juan Lavalle has himself declared Governor, but finding that he is anything but popular and having to prosecute his rebellion against Dorrego in the interior of the Province, he has Admiral Brown set up as his substitute.

August 26, 1829, J. J. Viamonte becomes provisional Governor.

December 8, 1829, General Juan Manuel Rosas is chosen Governor.

December 17, 1832, Balcarce is elected Governor.

November 5, 1833, J. J. Viamonte takes the Governorship again.

October 1, 1834, Maza head of the Congress becomes Governor.

April 13, 1835, Rosas is given full power, by the Congress, *and he makes various records.*

February 3, 1852, Battle of Caseros, end of Rosas reign. Vicente Lopez is chosen, provisionally, to govern. Another few years of experiences closely akin to those of 1820 follow, and then the light—the light of political redemption and progress.

CHAPTER XI

THE SISTERS OF MERCY ESTABLISHED—TROUBLES AND PROGRESS—BROWN DIES—WOULD BE HEAD MAN ON HIS SHIP—RECEIVES LAST SACRAMENTS FROM FATHER FAHEY—MITRE'S FUNERAL ORATION—CULLEN, O'DONNELL, COUGHLAN, TURNER, GAONA, MALOUNEY.

WITH the fall of Rosas, although the reign of absolutism was over and the establishment of constitutionalism was being earnestly attempted, for seven or eight years there was far more disturbance and insecurity of life and property than throughout the reign of the Dictator. Provisional governments, usurpations, revolutions and resignations were the ruling characteristics for a few years, at least. In view of the suppressions and persecutions of the previous twenty years, that the liberation should have let loose many wild and wicked elements in a population so mixed, and, in many ways, so primitive was not at all wonderful. We see just the same thing happening to-day in Russia, having got rid of their despot, to use a common expression, the people don't know what to do with themselves. But everything considered the Argentine nation pulled itself together rapidly and settled down to business admirably. The country had a few great men then. Lopez has this wise reflection on the consequences of the Rosas regime: "Tyranny's worst evil is not in the generous and noble blood which it spills, nor in the other direct evils which it works, but in the endemic decadence which it leaves in the public spirit, the vices, the vileness and the moral disorder with which it leaves poisoned the traditions and the life of the peoples on whose heart its hatred has fed." That the *worst evil* alluded to has so considerably and hastily passed away is due to the large influx

of foreigners and the sudden upspring of a new generation unaffected by the Rosas tradition, but the criollo element, to which Lopez, of course, referred is not even yet, two generations after, wholly purified of the traces of the "worst evil." Unless we try to bear in mind the sudden and sweeping political transitions of that time we will not be able to justly understand the course of certain happenings with which this chapter will have to do.

One of the first experiences Father Fahey got from his efforts to establish and maintain an Irish Hospital was, that matrons and nurses duly qualified for hospital work were difficult to procure, costly to keep and not at all satisfactory in other connections. Apart from the difficulty of providing fancy salaries for attendants, the need of religious instruction and a truly Catholic atmosphere in such institutions as a hospital appealed to him very strongly. Then many Irish families, especially in the camp districts, were being established. There were fairly good schools, public and private, for boys whose parents could afford to pay a reasonable school-fee, but such accommodation for girls was wholly lacking, or far from satisfactory, according to the ideas of the Irish settlers of that time, and Fr. Fahey's own notions on that point seem to have been fully in agreement with theirs. His remedy for the difficulty, therefore, was to get a community of nuns from Ireland, who would attend the sick, teach the young, help the needy and comfort the sorrowing. Thus would the financial and all the other difficulties hinted at be overcome. But before a company of nuns could be brought out from Ireland it would be necessary to provide a home and means of sustenance for them. He secured both in due time, and then proceeded to select an order of nuns whose conventual rules most closely harmonized with the wants of his flock, who, in other words, would be most useful to the Irish immigrants and their families. There were many communities in Ireland to choose from, but the one destined by Providence to



IRISH GIRLS' ORPHANAGE AND ST. BRIGID'S CHAPEL, BUENOS AIRES
(The beautiful chapel, recently completed, is a gift of Senora Margerita Mooney de Morgan to the Irish Catholic Association)



embark on this, for long, laborious and discouraging mission was that of the Sisters of Mercy.

There seems to be some uncertainty as to the true facts of this foundation, and how it came about. The tradition is that Father Fahey selected the Sisters of Mercy and applied to Archbishop Cullen to have a company of that Order chosen for the mission, if they could see their way to undertaking it. But the authoress of the "Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy" plainly states that the State and Church authorities of Argentina besought Cardinal Cullen to send the community thither. No doubt there are documents enough extant in the Diocesan Archives of Dublin and Buenos Aires to set all doubt on the matter at rest, but the difficulty of consulting them at the present time is out of all proportion with the importance of the point involved. I give here following a few extracts from the "Leaves" just mentioned which will demonstrate the uncertainty to which I have referred, as well as serve in fixing the date and giving other interesting details of the establishment of the "Irish Convent":

In 1856 the Sisters of Mercy trod for the first time the straight streets and flowery plazas of Buenos Aires. A large tide of emigration had been turning towards the Argentine Republic, and these Religious had come at the urgent call of the authorities to minister to the pressing wants of the people, and establish schools and hospitals throughout the territory. The application had been made to the Parent House, and Archbishop Cullen, Mother M. Vincent Whitty, and Mother M. Xavier Maguire took the deepest interest in the first South American foundation, and selected those who were best suited, from the volunteers. The priest who managed the business for the Buenos Aires authorities was Canon Anthony Fahey, who had been superior of the Irish Dominicans in Rome, and was well known to the Dublin Metropolitan. It took many months to arrange matters to the satisfaction of all, though the conditions, like to many others of a similar kind, ultimately proved to be worth no more than the paper on which they were written. The Archbishop gave a special blessing to the courageous volunteers, bade them apply to him as to a father in any contingency that might arise in their new field of labors and rely

on his aid in every emergency. The Mothers gave them many a warm maternal benediction, made every possible arrangement for their spiritual and temporal weal, and followed them with love and prayers over the vast watery expanse which they themselves crossed more than once a little later. It was, therefore, with deep spiritual joy and high hopes, that the little band of seven Sisters turned their faces southward, on the feast of the Kings, January 6, 1856, and set out on their toilsome journey from the Liffey to the Rio de la Plata. Cheerfully did they bear the heat of the torrid zone, the monotonous days, the trying tediousness of that lengthy voyage. While most of the passengers, enervated by the fierce tropical sun, lay stretched out as if dead, they were up and doing. The cooler waters of the South Temperate Zone and its beautiful, starry skies were a relief and a joy to them. After a prosperous but uneventful voyage, their vessel cast anchor in Rio, where they were detained a fortnight for the repair of the coasting steamer in which they were to continue their voyage to La Plata. This time they spent with the Sisters of Charity in one of the palaces allotted them by the Emperor Don Pedro. On February 24th, their steamer was in the immense river along whose banks stretches Buenos Aires. A tugboat brought them near land, and in a few moments they clambered down its sides to the boat that was to land them opposite their provisional Convent. The Superior was Mother Evangelista Fitzpatrick, the assistant was Mother M. Baptist O'Donnel; Sister M. Catherine Flannigan and Sister M. Joseph Griffin were the only professed besides the mothers; Sister Rose Foley, lay novice, and two postulants completed the muster-roll. Two of these ladies are still living (1895).

Good Father Fahey awaited them on the quay, and gave them a most hearty welcome. He declared that the day of their arrival was the happiest he had seen in the fourteen years of his pilgrimage in Buenos Aires. He had a good house in the center of the town prepared for them, and to it they were conducted by this kind father and other friends. The street on which they then lived was called Calle Merced.

The Calle Merced of that day is now Cangallo, and the house which served as the first Irish Convent was between Esmeralda and Suipacha. When the Sisters went to live in the new Convent and Hospital in Calle Riobamba they sold the old place to Dr. Velez Sarsfield. It is likely it was

in this old house that the hospital of 1848 was established; for Father Fahey would hardly set to establishing a hospital in a rented building, and he had this property before he applied for the nuns in 1855. By the way, it was in this same year, '55, he bought the first of the property on which the old Riobama institutions were erected, half a square, for \$5000 (gold); next year he bought the whole square where is now San Salvador, for \$10,000 (gold).

The authoress tells of the kindness of the "holy old prelate," Archbishop Escalda; what Buenos Aires looked like at that time, and why it was called that name, accepting, like many other writers, the erroneous legend about the "good airs" of the place, and goes on to state: "But neither Cardinal Cullen nor the Dublin Mother Superior, understood the circumstances of the country which had so earnestly begged through its one Archbishop and its chief magistrate, for a branch of the Mercy Institute." It is interesting to read what this nun thought of Rosas, supposed by many to have been a ruler highly serviceable to the cause of religion and good morals: "The despotism of the blood-and-iron man, Don Juan Manuel Rosas, had but recently ceased when the Sisters of Mercy were invited to the country, and his usurpation had not tended to civilize the people or improve their moral or Christian sentiments."

About the time the Sisters of Mercy arrived in Buenos Aires yellow fever broke out in a very violent form and their first labors were in the care of its unfortunate victims. Having been trained in such work in Dublin they were specially successful in helping the stricken and the authorities appointed them to the charge of the Lazaretto, or hospital of isolation. So conspicuous had they become as public benefactors that the Government, in a sense, held them above the law. A little question, soon after this time arose, some say as to the reception of an Argentine lady into the Order, others again as to the legality of the Order holding property in its own name, perhaps the two incidents arose about the same time. The suppression of the Orders in Rivadavia's

time had not been repealed and the party who adhered to his political faith was now in the ascendant. During the reign of Rosas these laws lay in abeyance, and it is very likely before the Dictator's fall that Father Fahey conceived the idea and commenced the labor of preparing for the founding of the Irish Convent, knowing full well that there would not be any obstacles put in his way by the authorities. Anyhow, when the questions above-mentioned arose other times and other men had come, and it was pointed out that the introduction of a religious order was illegal and that the Sisters and the people responsible for their coming were guilty of quite a serious infraction of the law. Father Fahey, the friend and defender of Rosas who had been for twenty years the merciless enemy and persecutor of the men now in power, could not expect to have much influence with these men, or be very favorably regarded by them. Still he was highly respected for his great and unrestricted benevolence, and his self-sacrifice and usefulness were readily recognized. The services and untiring zeal of the Sisters in the recent epidemic were also remembered, and although they were outside the law they were not to be interfered with. This was a decidedly unsatisfactory state of affairs under a government which suffered such frequent upheavals and reconstructions, and Father Fahey put the alternatives boldly and fairly to the authorities, full legal recognition of the Sisters and security for their property, or they would retire to some country where these rights would not be denied them. This brought the question to a head, and the authorities always willing and anxious to be kindly towards desirable strangers, and particularly well-disposed towards the "irlandeses" arrived at an arrangement which satisfied all concerned and enabled the Sisters to pursue their good work in safety. I think, in view of Father Fahey's public support and approval, as it were, of Rosas, this arrangement by the party then in power speaks very well of the liberality and sincere patriotism of the men who opposed and fought the Tyrant so

boldly. In 1858 the new institution in Calle Riobamba, which the authoress of the "Leaves" calls a "spacious hospital" was ready for occupation and from then commences the history of the old house in Riobamba, called by the very old-timers the "Irish Hospital," later the "Irish Convent," and lastly the "Irish Orphanage." Owing to the increased demand on the labors of the community three more Sisters—M. Liguori Griffin, M. Gertrude O'Rorke and M. Berchmans Fitzpatrick came in the year the new house was opened, and the following year four others came from Dublin, but three of these found the climate too trying for their health and returned to Ireland, only Sister M. Agnes Whitty, of the four, remaining in Buenos Aires. The Sisters seem to have been wholly occupied with hospital work at this time, for they had charge of the women's department of the City Hospital. With the opening of the new institution and the re-enforcements from Dublin, however, they started schools, public and private, the public school being free and attended almost exclusively by children of non-Irish descent. The pay-school was composed almost wholly of the daughters of Irish stock-raisers. Portion of the new edifice was used also as a home for Irish immigrant girls out of employment, and about the year '60 some few orphan girls were taken care of. The institution has so changed since, and not for the better by any means, I believe, that the hospital, boarding and public schools, and home for girls have all passed from under its roof and the whole excellent foundation has been devoted to the order of benevolence least thought of in its original designing, that of an orphanage for Irish and Irish-Argentine girls. The Sisters of Mercy, after much toil and struggle, and entirely on their own account conduct a boarding and public schools institution; they have also established an Irish Girl's Home, where they do excellent work and great charity, but the Irish Hospital, Father Fahey's first and fondest project has disappeared utterly for more than forty years.

Hutchinson, a Wexford man, who was British Consul at Rosario, wrote of the establishment a few years after its foundation: "No institution exists in the city more praiseworthy than the Irish Convent School and House of Refuge, of which Mrs. Fitzgerald is the present Superioress. This convent has from sixty to seventy juvenile boarders, chiefly the daughters of Irish sheepfarmers in the camp. The edifice is spacious, airy and well ventilated, being near the outskirts of the town. It was founded by the indefatigable Father Fahey, the Irishman's friend, counsellor and banker, as well as spiritual adviser. Besides a school for the poor, which has upward of 200 day pupils, and a hospital, these good Sisters undertake the care and education of six orphans. The House of Refuge attached to the school is designed as a temporary home for Irish servants out of place."

Before turning from this subject I feel bound to state, that although the "Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy" is a very interesting work and one to which I am indebted for most of the foregoing information regarding the foundation of the Irish Convent here, the authoress seems to have let her zeal for the fame of her spiritual sisters carry her to the length of not being quite so regardful of Father Fahey's part in the founding and maintenance of the Mercy Institute in Buenos Aires as she ought to have been. And further, I think, that she is not at all just to the Argentine public and authorities. That she, and probably most of the Sisters who founded the Order in Buenos Aires, did not understand the language, the laws, the customs and ways of the country was not the Argentine people's fault. In Rome we are expected to do like the Romans. One thing, which is much, the foundress and the chronicler both take pains to mention carefully that the Community was always well and generously supported pecuniarily in Buenos Aires.

If the sixth decade of the nineteenth century saw the raising of a new and proud landmark in the history of the

progress of our people in Argentina, it also saw the severing of the strongest link in the chain that bound the now flourishing colony with its weak and obscure beginnings in the Invasion and Revolutionary days. In '56 came the Irish nuns; in '58 the Irish Hospital, Irish Schools and Irish Girls' Home were opened in the Irish Convent Building; but in '57, March 2, breathed his last, after a career of such noble services to Argentina as even few of her own patriotic sons have had the fortune of being able to render her, the beloved old Irish Admiral. Brown had attained the age of eighty years, forty-six of which he had past as a resident of Buenos Aires. He was always very popular, he loved the warm-hearted, impulsive people amongst whom he lived for so long, and they, in turn, more than reciprocated the generous feeling. He had little, however, in common with the Portefño disposition of gaiety, excitability, and exacting formality. But unlike as were his moods to theirs he never looked on them with that superior, patronizing, when not contemptuous, air that so many strangers used to put on with reference to all things "South American." Brown sympathized sincerely with the Argentines, he liked their courteous, easy manners, had a great respect for the courage and intelligence of the people, and the utmost confidence in the great future that was before the young nation. Unofficial Brown was scarcely more than a stranger, attending to his private concerns, unobtrusive and practically unknown in society or politics. On board his ship, however, he was a different man. Going on shore he seemed to become o'ershadowed in some mysterious way with all the simple influences that surrounded his Mayo boyhood, but once he turned to sea he was a being of another world. He was, as it were, face to face with the enemy, a state of war existed, martial law was the code under which all and sundry lived, and he was the dictator. There is a little story which well exemplifies this trait in the Admiral's character and as it does not seem to be too well known I will introduce it here. In the height of Rosas's power and ab-

solutism it occurred to him to visit his fleet, bringing with him his family and a retinue of staff officials commensurate with the dignity and state of the mighty Restorer of the Laws. The tour of inspection was made with all the pomp and ceremony dear to the taste of Don Juan Manuel, for in things of that order he was himself the law and the prophets, not even his pliant ministers were consulted about such things. The formalities being gone through, dinner on the flag-ship followed in due course. The order of precedence was all arranged and the solemn master of ceremonies stood watchful to see it fulfilled. Brown proceeded sternly to the place of honor and silently took his seat. The master of ceremonies and all present, save Don Juan Manuel and the Admiral, experienced something like a severe electric shock. The official in charge quickly, and with the grace of such functionaries, sought to correct Brown, tactfully reminding him that the head of the feast was the place for the great Supremo, and got the cool and slowly worded reply, in what Lopez called the Admiral's monosyllabic Spanish, that whatever Don Juan Manuel might be on land that on his ships, he, Brown, was head man and would be in the head place.

The least the company expected for the old sailor was, of course, banishment, and some of them called to mind that many a man got his throat cut for less. Rosas took the thing very philosophically, and probably keenly enjoyed the humor of the whole situation, for he was richly endowed with the "saving grace." Moreover, Brown was a privileged personage with the terrible Restorer, and, anyhow, he was but a stupid old gringo and so long as he was not a savage Unitarian his notions of etiquette were of little consequence. The foregoing incident gave many people then, and even since, a kind of feeling that Brown was not altogether of sound mind, but it must have been their knowledge of the Dictator rather than what they knew of the Admiral that inspired the strange notion.

He was buried in a very prominent place in the Recoleta

Cemetery, and a monument which in its time must have been considered quite a remarkable one was erected to his memory by his wife. It has since fallen somewhat into disrepair and is far from being a worthy memorial of one who figured so largely, so nobly and so long in the heroic life of the Republic. His children do not seem to have been endowed with any special qualities and there is hardly anything to record of them in a work like this.

He was ailing, sinking, for a considerable time before the final call came, and was visited in those days by many of his old friends and many of the prominent public men of the country. On January 29, "El Nacional" had this notice of his condition: "General Brown continues gravely ill. The day before yesterday he received the sacred viaticum in his villa, for which the illustrious sailor had duly prepared himself. During this solemn moment he manifested the Christian sentiments of which he was possessed responding in the proper terms to the priest and giving thanks to God for this high proof of mercy to a warrior whom He had saved so often from death, that he might die peacefully with all the helps of religion. The priest who administered the sacraments to the illustrious patient was the Rev. Mr. Fahey, Chaplain of the Irish." Brown was always a man of strong religious feeling and it is recorded of him that when on board his ship he passed most of the Sunday, when not in actual warfare, in his cabin reading some religious work. His funeral, as might be expected, was very large and attended by special representatives of the Government. Colonel Mitre, already a man of considerable note, and a great friend of the late Admiral, delivered the funeral oration, a magnificent piece of oratory, which recounted most of the great deeds of the dead hero and closed in these paragraphs:

In descending to the sepulchre Admiral Brown bears with him the admiration of all patriots and the love of all good men, and the Argentine navy remains orphaned of the old father who watched over its

birth on the stormy bosom of the Plate. The Pacific, the Atlantic, the Uruguay, the Paraná, the Rio de la Plata will be forever the immortal pages on which will be read his great deeds, and while there floats on these waters one shallop, or flies over them one Argentine pennant the name of Brown will be invoked by every sailor as the guardian genius of our seas.

If some day new dangers threaten the Argentine fatherland, if some day we should find ourselves obliged to confide to our floating timbers the banner of May, the conquering breath of the old Admiral will swell our sails, his ghost will grasp our helm in the midst of the tempests and his warlike figure will be seen to stand on the top-deck of our ships in the thick of the cannon smoke and the din of the grappling shouts.

Adieu, noble and good Admiral of the fatherland of the Argentines! —Adieu!—The spirits of Rosales, of Espora, of Drummond and of Buchardo arise to receive thee into the mysterious mansions of the tomb, and while they salute thee with palms in their hands, the people of Buenos Aires weep the loss of their illustrious Admiral!

Mitre was a close and valued friend of Brown's and after the young Argentine had visited him in the Autumn of 1856, the old seaman sent him his memoirs with a letter in which he said: "I wish to finish this work before I begin the great voyage towards the shadowy seas of death." A grandson of his rose to some rank in the Argentine navy more than a generation ago, but I have not heard anything as to what became of him in after years.

Here are some of the Irish names figuring prominently in public affairs between 1850 and 1860, but I shall no more than touch on them, and this mostly with the hope of arousing the curiosity of someone who may have time and opportunities to make closer inquiries as to who they were, and what they did, and as to whether or not their memories are worth preserving. There are many young Irish-Argentines of considerable literary ability, and no want of opportunity to whom such a task should be very grateful and in more ways than one highly profitable. It is a pity there is no Irish-Argentine society to undertake and encourage such research and publish from time to time

journals of its transactions—some such body, for instance, as the Irish-American Historical Society. It is quite unknown and, indeed, undreamed of, what an amount of material such a society would find to occupy its attention all over this country and the neighboring Republic of Uruguay, not to mention the Republics across the Andes.

Joseph Mary Cullen, one of the Santa Fé family, was deputed by the Argentine Confederation, in '54, to arrange terms of peace with the independent Republic of Buenos Aires. He was later in the same year elected Governor of his province. The peace arrangements which he, and Gowland on behalf of Buenos Aires, made were considered at the time a great achievement; the newspapers of the day spoke of him in terms of high praise.

At the same time a member of another noted family of Irish origin had prominent place in the ministry of President Urquiza, Captain Santiago O'Donnell. I believe that O'Donnell belonged to the Province of Entre Rios, but there were O'Donnells in Cordoba before the Independence, and many of the name figure officially in Buenos Aires in the early years of the Republic.

While the Government, in '59, had Engineer Coughlan, who put up the first water supply plant for the city, making plans for a new port and docks, Engineer Turner was constructing in a Dublin foundry the great iron roof of the Colon Theater. This theater replaced the old Cabildo and stood where is now the Banco de la Nación. The roof weighed 150 tons and was considered a work of exceptional merit.

But the most interesting character of this time, from an Irish or Irish-Argentine point of view, is the cavalry commander Gaona. This extraordinary man, a Raperee of the Raperees, for his daring, prowess and incredible escapes from enemies surpasses anything in the stories of Redmond O'Hanlon, Michael Dwyer or Brennan on the Moor. His parents were Irish-born and removed from Buenos Aires to Paysandú in Uruguay about the year 1827. His father's name was

Gowan or McGowan, and as neither one is easily pronounced in South American Spanish, the younger people, among their comrades, went by the name of Gaona. This is about as near as any Argentine could get to pronouncing Gowan, as we pronounce it, the subject of this brief sketch accepted the modification and with it ran his "wild career." His people were well-to-do when one of the civil-war factions of the country seized a considerable portion of his father's property and sold it for their own use and benefit. This outrage to his family, although he was still but young, did not tend to deepen his respect for the authorities, but he had other and more unforgettable cause for setting himself heart and hand against what was regarded as the authority—law there was none. In some sort of a quarrel two Brazilians killed one of his brothers, he was then merely a boy, but he swore to avenge his brother's murder, and he kept his oath. He had scarcely reached manhood's years when he slew the two Brazilians. His life from that on for many years was the life of an outlaw. He seems to have taken a special vow against the authorities and in his numerous deadly combats with them would almost appear to be possessed of something of the enchanted life of the classic heroes or the warrior knights of romance. Sarmiento says he was of giant stature and extremely well formed, with nothing in his appearance to indicate the career of violence and hardship which was his from youth. He came across the Paraná with Urquiza in 1859 to reduce the Porteños to the state of subjects of the Provincianos, but believing more in the cause of the former, or not relishing the ideas of those he found himself in alliance with, he went over to the ranks of Buenos Aires and fell a prisoner to his former comrades at the battle of Cepeda. By a ruse he escaped from his captors and rendered good service the following year under Mitre at the Pavon. It is told that Mitre, on the eve of the famous battle, wanted a prisoner from the enemy ranks; the two armies were ranged out in battle order and within cannon shot of each

other; Gaona was given the mission of providing the needed prisoner; it was hinted that an ordinary rank-and-file man was not the kind desired. The redoubtable captain understood, went forth, and came back with a color-sergeant. The story is that he dashed into a squad of the enemy, seized his man by the throat, plucked him off his saddle, turned and sped back with his man thrown across his horse's withers. This is but one of the numerous daring feats of this interesting and picturesque Irish-Gaucha. At Pavon his many previous wounds were added to, but, this notwithstanding, he was amongst the most relentless of the pursuers of the routed Provincianos, and like O'Connell at the battle of Tyrrell's Pass, his sword arm was sore and swollen with overwork before he had finished with the fleeing foe. Sarmiento mentions that at the age of 32 he had then been eight years without sleeping under a roof.

For the sake of the better understanding of some references in the foregoing sketch of Captain Gaona, and the keeping of the reader to some extent in touch with Argentine history a word or two on the political conditions of the country at the close of the first half of the last century. When in '52 the Dictatorship of Rosas was overthrown the hero of the event was General Justo José Urquiza, previously the chief commander and right-hand man of the Dictator in the northern and nearer provinces. Urquiza was beginning to feel his importance; he was a man of much more liberal ideas than his chief, and rather sympathized with the Uruguayans whom Rosas hated and made war on relentlessly. He also began to feel, and not without reason, that the great man in Buenos Aires had a tendency to be suspicious of his principal leaders, and when this suspicion ripened, a thing it usually did rapidly, he had a very effective way of relieving himself of the annoyance they occasioned him. Quiroga and Cullen were regarded as examples. It was easy, therefore, for Don Justo José to satisfy his conscience that it was his patriotic duty to

overthrow Don Juan Manuel as soon and as thoroughly as he possibly could. But the people of Buenos Aires while very glad to be rid of one dictator had no intention to sit down under another one, and he a mere "provinciano." The new President proposed making a little town in his own province, Parana, the national capital. Buenos Aires, with wealth, intelligence and population equal, if not superior, to those of all the rest of the country would have none of this, and after some revolutioning and upsetting of things in a small way, set up for itself as an independent republic, or else that Buenos Aires City should be the capital of the whole Argentine nation. The battle of Pavon made good this pretension; negotiations were duly entered into and the Confederation and the Republic came to peace. Buenos Aires became once more the capital of the nation and as such it has ever since remained.

From Uruguay where Goana commenced making a name for himself to Jujuy in the extreme northwest of the Republic is a long cry, but while on this subject of men of Irish name at this period I cannot overlook one who had risen high in the public affairs of his province and who bore such a decidedly Gaelic patronymic as Molouney. Whether he was a descendant of one of the prisoners of the MacNamara expedition or whether he came into Jujuy from Peru or Bolivia I know not, but Peter Paul Molouney was well established in Jujuy in the Fifties and rose to the position of first official in the Government of his state. He did something in the real estate business too, but no official document appeared in the first Sixties without his name. There are not many Irish in Jujuy, I know, but if any of the few who are there happen to come across these pages I hope they will look up the antecedents and the succedents of Molouney and give the family its proper place in the records of our race in this land.

CHAPTER XII

BEGINNING OF SHEEPFARMING—AN OLD ARGENTINE'S STORY ABOUT IRISH HERDS—A STRANGE PETITION—BULFIN ON THE SHEEPFARMER'S LIFE—COMING OF THE SHEEP-SCAB, FOOT-ROT, ETC.

WHEN we turn to track the progress of the early Irish settlers as they extended their activities beyond the still narrow limits of the Capital and its environs, we have to move at once quite a distance into the country. There is no gradual spreading from the suburbs outward, as might be expected in a land so sparsely peopled and so comparatively new as was the vicinity of Buenos Aires in the beginning of the last century. The origin of this peculiarity, however, is not far to seek. When great stock ranches were first being formed a very wise law was enacted which forbid their establishment nearer to the city than a limit of nine leagues. This arrangement, to a great extent, reserved an area, in handy reach of the city, sufficient for its provisioning with vegetables and other agricultural products. And remembering, from present-day experiences, what the roads of a hundred years ago must have been, and that there were then no trains or tramways, we can at once see what a sensible thing it was, on the part of the legislators, to keep the producer and the consumer of the principal necessary food items as close as possible to each other. By this I do not mean to say that there were no live-stock farms within the limit aforesaid, for there were, as mentioned in earlier chapters, but they were on a limited scale. Halsey, Dwerhagen, Clark, Miller and many others were within the prescribed area, but their farms were small and mostly used for breeding, dairying and fattening purposes.

Thus, when our people took to the sheep industry they had to go far afield and into very wild and lonely regions. The Partidos of Cañuelas, San Vicente, Ranchos, but most of all Chascomus, were the principal sheep districts for the first fifteen or twenty years after wool raising became a popular and profitable business. It must not be understood that the Irish immigrants were its chief promoters and beneficiaries at first. Peter Sheridan is the first of our countrymen well known to have invested largely in merino sheep, but in all probability there were many of his countrymen working as herds and corral-makers before he branched out from his commercial pursuits to become famous and wealthy, with his partner Harrat, as the most important sheep-breeder of his time in Argentina. Several native gentlemen, as already indicated, were engaged in improving and extending the industry about 1825, and earlier, and the Government of the day, inspired by the super-progressive Rivadavia, made every effort to stimulate the industry, importing from Europe several of the most approved strains then procurable. It seems to have been a belief amongst those who were then seeking to promote wool-raising that the native of the plains was not the man to make the most out of a flock of sheep. Even to this day he is not generally considered by flock-owners as safe and profitable a herd as would be an Irishman or a Basque. In those days the native had less of the knowledge that goes to make a successful sheep-farmer, for he was less practiced in that line of labor, had all the employment, and of a kind that suited his taste, that he needed, and so was little inclined to the patient drudgery and occasional hardships which were the lot of the shepherd. Spanish immigration was practically forbidden during the time of the struggle for independence and for some years after, so there were then few or no Basques, and thus the Irish were the only suitable men available for sheep-herding. The native stock-owners were surprised at the self-sacrificing care and labor with which these lighthearted, soft-skinned

strangers tended the flocks committed to their care. A very wealthy old native gentleman, now many years gone to his reward, used to tell an experience he had when a very young man, which is worth retelling as illustrating what I say about the care of the Irish shepherd for his flock. The story, stripped of the picturesque amplifications with which the admiring old criollo used to adorn it, was to this effect: One summer evening when he was a boy, returning from a neighboring estancia, he was overtaken by a sudden rain-storm. His father's estancia was still some leagues away, so he headed for the nearest puesto, or herd's house, on his father's lands. Night and storm and rain were all on him when he reached what he hoped would be a friendly and safe shelter. He was disappointed, however, in finding the shepherd and a youth lately out from Ireland with their dogs, there were then no sheep-corral as we know them now, it would seem, busy in the pelting rain rounding the sheep up against the sheltering walls of the little dwelling. The only door of the house happened to be on the side against which the sheep were gathered, and the shepherd would not allow even his master's son to pass through the flock to shelter, for fear of disturbing it, until the storm would have passed. The men were wet to the skin and wading in deep mud on their watchful round to prevent any stampede. In time the storm had passed and he sought to enter the house, as the darkness was now too dense to venture on the remainder of the journey, but a greater surprise was in store for him; he found all the young and more delicate lambs of the flock with a dozen or two ewes, just yeaned, in possession of the couple of apartments into which the puesto was divided, and he was very authoritatively told that they must not be disturbed before morning. He made the best of his way among his noisy and inconsolate fellow-occupants to a catre in a corner, not, however, to sleep, as anyone acquainted with or capable of imagining the din and clamor some score of young lambs inside a house appealing to their no less clamorous dams

outside, can make, may readily suppose. When the wrath of the storm had spent itself, and there was no longer any great danger of its carrying the flock in its current to destruction, the shepherd turned his thoughts to the comforting of his guest, and brought him the first of a kettle of hot coffee. The old *estanciero*, at this point in his story, never forgot to add, with comic seriousness: "But look, my friend, I assure you if those ewes and lambs expressed the least desire to have coffee, every one of them would be attended to before I or that shepherd would get a taste of it." As soon as he got within reach of the parental ear he complained bitterly of the "animal of a gringo" he had spent the night with, who thought more about a point of stupid ewes and crazy lambs than about the comfort of Christians, and recommended that people so "bruto" should be got rid of at once. The wise parent heard the complaint with silent attention, merely replying that he would attend to the matter. This he did by increasing the shepherd's interest in the flock so well cared, and by giving the young "gringo" a flock on shares at the first opportunity.

Whether the story was true as told or merely an ordinary incident generously exaggerated is a question of no consequence here; I record it as expressive of the feeling the old native gentlemen entertained towards the Irish as shepherds. But that stronger and better evidence of this feeling may not be lacking I will quote a paragraph from a lengthy petition presented to the House of Representatives in 1852, by Argentines, or as the petition states, "natives of the parishes of Matanzas, Cañuelas, Lobos and Guardia del Monte." The petition asking that these "natives" get fair play and protection in the matter of employment and safety for their families, went on to say: "To-day the owners of flocks turn us away; they look for Europeans for their herds and they generally take these in partnership, solely because they find in them independent employees whom the authorities will not maltreat, with whom

nobody will interfere or dare to molest in their business nor in the sacredness of their domestic hearths. This guarantee is not to be ours. For this reason we are despised, for this the stranger is preferred before us, with all his rawness (bozalia), with all his industrial inferiority. Here is the cause that makes plain this shameful contrast of so many sons of the soil, yesterday rich, to-day proletariats, beside so many irlandeses but yesterday in rags and tatters (andrajosos), to-day property owners."

It was a hard condition of affairs for the poor native, but I'm afraid few sheep-farmers of that time or any time since would be willing to bear him out in his assertion as to the "industrial inferiority" of the foreigner, in the sheep business, at least.

What the life of the beginner in the wool industry was in the early days may to some extent be gathered in an indirect way from incidental remarks in previous chapters. The pioneer's house is accurately and inimitably painted for the reader by the delightful pen of the late William Bulfin in some extracts I have already made from an article of his. His description of a day in a shepherd's life is so comprehensive, graphic, detailed and faithful that I make no apology for reproducing it here, as by far the best treatment of the subject I have anywhere seen. It is written, however, of a much later period than the Twenties or even the Thirties. His is what I may call the Pine and Wire Period, when once the shepherd had his sheep in the corral he could look out for himself; but in the earlier days when the corral was secured only by a trench dug all around, the storm easily forced the sheep over the banks and dykes, filling up the latter with the first outflow of the drifting flock till a level way was made. It was thus much easier to herd the sheep together and prevent a destructive drift, out on the open plain, and this was the method usually pursued by the first shepherds, but with the advent of the American pine boards and later the wire fences, the secure corrales or pens came to his relief and lessened his hard-

ships considerably. But apart from these little items the record of his day's work and general situation as pictured in the following extract has been true of the pioneer all through the history of sheep-farming from the time Lanuze invented the bottomless bucket for raising water for the flock. By the way, although the invention of Lanuze was called the bottomless bucket, "balde sin fondo," it was not a bucket at all, but the skin of a horse's body partially closed at one end and fixed to remain open at the other. The contrivance was operated on the same system as the present day bottomless bucket, the latter being only an innovation made by the father of the late Dr. Pelligrini, who acknowledged that he got the idea from Lanuze's contrivance. The canvas sleeve was an attempt at improving Lanuze's horse-skin, but was not a success. Lanuze in his invention did more for the promotion of sheepfarming in Argentina than Halsey, the Government, Sheridan or any of the great sheep-breeders; for without an easy method of raising water the keeping of flocks anywhere away from the great permanent rivers was an impossibility. The semisurgiente windmills, and lately the electric well-borer of Murphy & Co. of Santa Fe, are not half as great boons in their time as was the invention of Lanuze in its era. Says Bulfin:

Here is the hut. You know more or less all it contains, or is likely to contain, for in a former chapter I have described a mud-ranch and its fittings. Here are your dogs. Your horses are out yonder, feeding. There are your sheep in the corral. Let us count them—2063, reckoning the lambs, and you have four skins drying on the corral wiring. Those animals in the tail of the flock with the tar mark across the loins are for slaughter; so whenever you want meat you are to kill one of them. They are all toothless, superannuated ewes, but we must be economical—none of your larking with fat lambs or plump and solid wethers unless you want to get sent to the right about. And now, good luck to you! Keep your eye open and your spirits as far out of your boots as you can. You will need all the buoyancy that is in your nature to sustain you in your solitude and drudgery. You will need

all your manhood to keep you from falling down in agony and despair as you travel.

The bitter road the Younger son must tread,
Ere he win to hearth and saddle of his own.

There has been no rain for months, nor is there a rain cloud or any other kind of a cloud to be seen in the sky. There is a gray haze along the horizon, and through it the sun is coming up red and angry. There is not a blade of grass on the Pampa, every bit of vegetation has disappeared under the blaze of the pitiless sun. As far as you can see, north, south, east and west, there is nothing but the brown and yellow soil, naked and parched. You are not a visitor to the sheep runs, any longer, my friend. You are one of ourselves—a shepherd. You have been about six months in charge. This run of yours lies on the outskirts of the Mulreaney Camp, and seldom visited. It is about five weeks since you saw the face of a fellowman or heard the tone of any human voice but your own. You have been thrown on your own resources with a vengeance. You have had to cook for yourself, wash for yourself, do your own housekeeping and manufacture your own amusement. You have for the last three weeks looked with something like horror at the barren landscape at sunrise, and it has met your tired and drooping gaze at sunset without a change. Your flock of sheep, so strong and healthy when you were left in charge, has shrunk into a pack of woolly skeletons that die off at the rate of twenty per day.

When you open your corral gate in the morning your starving sheep crowd and stagger through it and limp away into the surrounding desolation to look for something to eat. They prowl over the barren stretches of clay and sickly bleats and coughs give forth their only manifestations of disappointment at finding such scorching famine where once the luxuriant grasses grew and tangled and clustered in wild abundance. Those sheep are glad to find stray seeds, scraps of decayed thistle stalks, or any other rubbish. They will even eat the wool from off the carcasses of those that drop down to die, for the sake of the seeds and other odds and ends of vegetable matter which it contains. After a little while they will return again to the hut.

They come back for water and you must give them to drink. They are thirsty in proportion to the hunger which is destroying them, and as the sun mounts higher in the brazen sky they bleat and scurry round the corner of the corral on their way to the drinking troughs. The only

water to be had for miles around lies at the bottom of that well yonder which is about six feet in diameter and about sixty feet deep, and which contains scarcely a fathom of the precious liquid. There is a desperately thin horse, the only one left to you now; there is a rickety wooden tank and a few drinking troughs; there is a rude trestle over the well, holding an iron pulley from which depends a bottomless canvas bag; there are two hempen ropes, which are lying across the aforementioned tank; and nothing else in particular save a few crazy slabs of timber nailed up as a kind of stockade around the mouth of the well to keep the sheep from falling in. With these works and pumps you are obliged to supply 1500 thirsty skeletons with water. Let me see if I can give you some idea of how it is done.

You first saddle the horse. As the girths are tightened home, the patient quadruped heaves a sigh and you heave another. Like everything else around the establishment, both of you are down on your luck. It is easy to perceive that both have seen better days. It is also easy to perceive that neither of you has much hope for the future. You have been keeping that horse alive for the last five weeks on maize and dry alfalfa, a supply of which was sent you from the *estancia* on the approach of hard times. As you mount, your conscience smites you sorely, for you know in your heart that the animal is nearly worked to death and scarcely able to move his tired limbs. You have a raw hide whip and you have got to use it; for the sheep have to be considered. The horse knows his business, and, as you swing your leg across him, he turns resignedly towards the well. You pick up the ropes from the tank and fasten them to the girth-ring. The mouth of the bag is held open by a strong iron ring, across which runs a bar that is made fast to one of the ropes. The other rope is tied to the other extremity of the bag. The "head rope" passes over the pulley, which depends from the trestle, the "tail rope" passes over a wooden roller or cylinder, which is fastened to the tank at the edge of the well. You shake the bag from off the tank and the heavy metal rim causes it to fall into the well, mouth foremost, dragging the slack of the rope after it. The hollow bump tells you when it reaches the water. Then you turn your horse round and whip him away from the well, when the gentle sport begins. The canvas bag is about six feet long, and as it rises in a curved position, it brings up about ten gallons of water. The poor horse has to stretch and strain under the pull, and you feel heartily ashamed of yourself for being obliged to add so considerably to his burden. When the sack of water reaches the mouth of the well the "head rope" pulls the iron ring

upwards towards the trestle, while the "tail rope" passing over the cylinder pulls in an opposite direction. The bag is thus straightened out and the water splashes through the narrow end into the tank. At the sound of the water tumbling into the tank, and on feeling the strain lightened, the well-trained horse turns and goes back to the well. The bag drops again, is filled, and the solemn march is resumed. You must whip that unfortunate horse for the first hour or so in order to supply the first cravings of the flock. If you take the thing easy and spare the horse, the sheep will walk over each other, walk into the troughs, try to scramble into the tank, and, very likely, one of them or more will manage to tumble into the well. When you have to dismount and unhitch your ropes in order to lasso a drowning sheep at the bottom of a fifty-foot well you may swear that you have an excellent opportunity of proving to 1500 other sheep that you have full control over your temper.

The sun is burning and blazing. The sheep in tramping round the troughs raise clouds of dust which the hot wind lifts into whirling tortures for man and beast. Your feet are blistered inside your heavy top-boots. The patient horse plods to and fro, snorting occasionally to drive the invading dust from his nostrils. Your temples ache and the blood drums madly over them. The air is full of those vibratory fizzling ripples which tell of a temperature that may be anything between 95 and 105 degrees. Hour after hour you ride up and down that well beaten path, in the eddying dust, past the panting sheep, whipping that exhausted horse and trying to get ahead of your work. Hour after hour the dust gets into your head, your lungs, mingles with the perspiration on your face and neck, and covers you from head to foot. Hour after hour those wretched sheep drink and drink and bleat and cough and call for more. I can tell you it is far from romantic. It is the sort of outdoor amusement that will bring the crows' feet under your eyes, and the wee white hairs over your ears and the disappearance of your fresh complexion, and the stiffening of your knee joints, and the dumb aching misery into your heart. There is a dead, petrified monotony about it which is worse than the heat and the dust and the blisters and the weary solitude.

Toward sundown you get a rest. Having swilled water for about seven hours, the sheep make another raid on the barren camp in quest of more seeds and thistle-stalks, and even clay. A few of them fall down and die; a few more have died during the day. These you must skin. While you are skinning, your horse is regaling himself on his dry hay. Your dogs, that have lain all day panting on the shady

side of the hut, are now your companions. They follow your skinning with a keen and selfish interest and chew each other a little before they can come to any workable agreement in regard to the division of the spoils. At sundown you drag or carry home the skins of the dead sheep and hang them on the wiring or rails of your corral to dry. Now for the banquet!— Your shepherd's dinner. Behold! you have high festival—black tea, camp biscuit as hard as a stone, some meat cooked on the embers, and a smoke of some brand of Virginian tobacco nearly as potent as dynamite. In due time you go forth once more, and by the united efforts of your dogs and yourself you manage to get the sheep, tired, hungry and sickly into the corral.

There! your day's work is done. Shake up the hay under your horse's head, give him a drink and go home to your hut; load that pipe of yours, sit down on the doorstep with your shoulder against the wall, and send up your curling wreaths of smoke and incense to the stars. If memory comes back upon you now, may it be pleasant! May it tell you of distant scenes where the cool breezes are whispering to the leaves of mighty elm or ash; where the woodbine peeps through the ivy around the gnarled hawthorn trunks; where the wild rose bedecks the hedges; where the larch spreads out its feathery branches, like a festoon of giant fern across the burnished glory of the sunset; where the moss-grown old abbey ruin looks so solemn in the waning twilight; where the glad voices answer each other as the young folks scamper over the meadows; where the brook murmurs its eternal story to the overhanging willows and hedges, and where the gleam that steals through the hazels on the hillside and blinks at you across the valley comes from the fire, around which are seated those whose loving thoughts are going out to you in your exile.

"Baa!" It is only the bleat of the hungriest sheep in the corral, but it brings you back to your surroundings. It reminds you among other things that you are dead tired and that you are very sleepy. There is not a sound to break the silence but the play of your horse's teeth over his dry alfalfa, or an occasional bleat from the flock. Not a camp cricket is left alive to chirp, not an owl to hoot, not a plover to wail over its loneliness. Heigho! it is terrible. But go to bed you sun-tanned exile; go to bed you unfortunate shepherd! You are too sleepy already to pull off your boots and grease your blistered feet. So here! shake yourself up and turn in. Your tired limbs stretch out into night; your dirty face pillows itself on the door-sill; your dogs lie down beside you, and do their dreaming in your company. Your disreputable old hat has tumbled off, and the night wind moves the

tousled hair that hangs over your forehead; and you are not going to waken until the chills drive you within doors, after you have learned from the stars that you have been asleep for hours. Pull that old *poncho* over you now, and get all the rest you can before daybreak, for the morrow must find you again at your post—must find you ready for another day of dust and sweat and heat and pulling water and skinning dead sheep. How do you feel?

The long extract I have quoted is, of course, but one side of the story but it is a side, and enough to make plain that the shepherd's life was not always one of ease and contentment. There were lots of ups and downs and difficulties, but patience and care were almost always attended with success, and our people were remarkable from the beginning for the steadiness and rapidity with which they acquired wealth as sheep-farmers. In 1842 McCann was astonished at the wealth some of his countrymen had then acquired in the southern camps. A writer in the *Revista del Plata*, in 1853, considering the natural wealth of the soil of the Province of Buenos Aires, and the unrivalled opportunities farming pursuits offered to the right kind of settlers had this to say by way of confirming his argument: "If anyone wants to be sure of these facts let him ask the numerous Irish immigrants who in ten years rose from the state of mere laborers to that of proprietors of valuable flocks."

Yet although sheep-farming was now known for thirty years to be one of the most profitable lines of business so far developed in the Plate country it had not made the progress generally that one might expect. Some would attribute this slow movement for some years prior to the fall of Rosas to the general stagnation in business which came with the Anglo-French blockade, and others to the virulence which the scab epidemic assumed in the first years of its appearance in the country. I am inclined to think that in addition to these causes, the scarcity of suitable shepherds affected it greatly. Argentina did not at all depend in those days on Europe for the disposal of its wool, and

so the blockade was in that sense of little consequence, for as the export returns show, in the one year, 1854 alone, the United States bought more than half the total shipped, and nearly twice as much as England. The growth of sheep-farming for the first two generations or so of its history seems to keep time, so to speak, with the growth of the Irish population here. It was the line of activity, of all others, that appears to have suited our countrymen best, or that they seem to have suited best. This chapter set out to follow their course as they spread through the southern departments and later moved west and northward, till the tiller of the soil in due time spread after them and generally crushed them out, at least as sheep-farmers, to the far frontiers and new lands, but before we follow them a paragraph or two about the coming of the scab may be informing and interesting to many.

So intimately was the early life of the Irish colony here associated with sheep raising that the history of the one is largely the story of the other for the first couple of generations in the career of the Republic. It will, therefore, interest the people for whom this book is being written chiefly, to know that in the beginning, in the days when only the old criollo and the merino breeds were known there was no such disease in Argentina as lumbriz, footrot, or scab. The two latter maladies came with the finer and more delicate breeds imported in 1837-8. It is recorded in the *Revista del Plata*, 1853, that at this time, 1838, a certain importer had on show for sale a number of fine Saxon rams. All the principal sheep-breeders of the country came to inspect the much talked of new arrivals, and each one had his own opinion of the probable suitability or unsuitability of the animals for the pastures and climate of Argentina. One prominent flock-owner, a sturdy Rosasite, had no good word to say of any foreign breed, but was especially denunciatory of the latest introduction. The rams were offered at a price per head that at the time would go far towards purchasing a small flock of sheep,

This fact made the old-fashioned estanciero even more relentless against the pampered and belauded strangers. People might be foolish enough to give such prices, but he, no—never. His little criollo sheep with their mixture of merino blood, which, at the end of all, was the same blood, was good enough for him, and he had all the rams of his own that he wanted without paying those foreigners a whole fortune for a dandy that one shower of rain might kill. No, he'd have nothing to do with them. He had some excellent flocks, and was more than ordinarily influential amongst his class; the importer would sacrifice a good deal to secure his friendship, or even his neutrality, in regard to the Saxon rams. He urged him as a man with the interests of the country, and especially those of the great sheep-breeding industry, so much at heart to take a couple of the best of the rams, as an experiment, for one or two years, and if he did not like the result he could return them, and in any case they would cost him nothing. The estanciero yielded; the rams were sent out to his estancia with the instruction to his mayordomo to treat them exactly as the native sires—no special privileges for the new-comers, let them take their chances with the rest of the flock. The two Saxons had hidden in their thick fleeces millions of the invisible parasites whose outward sign of active operation in their nefarious business pursuits is commonly known as scab. They infected all Don Fulano's beautiful flock, and when winter began making its approach the unfortunate animals were noticed kicking and scratching and biting their burning and irritated pelts, and all this in such a manner, and augmented so as the months went on that when shearing time came there was not as much wool on the whole flock as would buy shears to dag them with. The unhappy estanciero's regard for things foreign got back to its old standard, only more so, and it is said he never in all his life went to a ram show again.

There were then no sheep-dips on the market, nor any known remedy for the disease, at least in Argentina. It was

noticed that in wintertime the pest rose to its worst, and that the fatter the animals were the less they suffered; the hot weather almost banished it; and from these facts it was believed that by sweating the animals heavily the malady could be almost got rid of, as though it were only a cold on the lungs or a spell of neuralgia. From this the custom became common of running the flocks violently and with fixed regularity so as to make them perspire much. The remedy, of course, was soon found to be useless and many people abandoned the sheep-raising business altogether. Such havoc did the pest play with the wool yield that a writer in the review last-named commends the wise practice of the Irish sheep-farmers, "poor men who let nothing go to waste," he calls them, in holding back their shearing to profit by the new growth of wool.

Foot-rot when it first appeared was an even worse disease than scab and more destructive in its effects. Often large numbers of an affected flock were unable to walk from the corral to the pasture area, except on their knees, and if grass was scarce death by starvation was the common result of the disease, for the animals could not get over much ground in search of food. Unlike the scab it soon abated and disappeared, returning only under special circumstances. Scab, on the contrary, spread and became more virulent as the years went by, till in a short time every flock in the country was infected. Previous to the introduction of the foreign bred animals there was no sheep disease known in the country, but once introduced, the native breed was just as susceptible to the pest as the most delicate of those brought in from abroad.

CHAPTER XIII

CAMP SETTLEMENTS—QUILMES—MATANZAS—MORON—CAÑUELAS—RANCHOS
—CHASCOMUS—DOLORES—LOBOS—DOCTOR FITZSIMONS' SCHOOL—
GUARDIA DEL MONTE—LAS HERAS—MERLO—MORENO—LUJAN—CAPILLA
DEL SEÑOR—ZARATE—BARADERO.

AND now our pursuit of the pioneer will commence and wherever he went in any great number I shall follow him with pleasure and try to find out how he fared and what tracks he left after him.

In Quilmes, Matanzas and Moron some Irishmen found employment in the ordinary agricultural pursuits almost from the first coming of our people in quest of the means of a livelihood. In addition to the dairying and saladera industries, Quilmes had some small sheep and cattle farms, Matanzas had dairying, agriculture and sheep-farming on a somewhat more extensive scale, whilst Moron was the scene of Halsey's first struggle and failure to establish the wool-raising industry, it had also several successful agricultural and stock-raising farms. Many of these were owned by foreigners who employed Irishmen, by preference, whenever they could be found. But these districts were never suitable for flock-owners who had to rent pasturage, owing to the high value of land, and so they were never areas in which our people could make any settlement except as hired workmen, that is, to any considerable extent.

When Sheridan saw the possibilities of the wool trade he made the district near Cañuelas the scene of his new enterprise, and so that parish and the northern part of the neighboring parish of Ranchos became the first camp locality Irishmen went into. Cañuelas, however, being so close to the Capital, land was of comparatively high value,

rarely changed owners and whenever a proprietor chanced to dispose of his estate, or a portion of it, the price was beyond the reach of all except the very wealthy, hence but few Irish families settled there permanently. It was a leading sheep-raising district during the Rosas regime and for some twenty years after. The land was mostly stocked by its owners, and when the flocks were not of the finer class and raised to be disposed of at fancy prices for breeding from, were usually let to shepherds on interest. There were also, of course, many sheep-farmers who rented by the year, but these were mostly on the southern and western portions of the district. Father Fahey attended to its Chaplaincy necessities till Fathers Cullen and Kirwan came to his assistance in the middle Fifties. In '64 Father Dillon was transferred there from Merlo, but did not remain long in that position and was succeeded by Father Smith who made Lobos his headquarters. The fact that Father Dillon was sent there at the date mentioned would suggest that Cañuelas must have then been one of the principal Irish districts. Mulhall, in his Handbook, published in 1875, gives in his list of land-holders in the department but one Irish name, that of Mr. Hanlon. Tillage was then making steady advance although the district had still more than a million sheep. It must have seemed a strange misfortune to our countrymen, or as they would probably call it themselves, *miragh*, that the very reverse of the system which cleared them off the soil in Ireland was now clearing them off the soil in all the inner Partidos in their new country. Sheep and cattle had suppressed the plow on all the fat lands at home and were ruthlessly pressing it year by year further on to the swampy and stony areas; here the plow was banishing the sheep and cattle to the outlands and frontier wilds. And so by the end of the nineteenth century Cañuelas as a sheep-farming, and consequently, as an Irish district ceased to exist. It will be remembered that Cañuelas was one of the districts from which the complaint came to the Government in '52 that the natives were

being crushed out and undone by the Irish sheepmen. Little they or the Irish thought then that another order of "crushers out" would be on the scene before the years of another generation had flown by.

Although portion of Ranchos was occupied by the sheepfarmers at as early, if not earlier date, as Casfueles, the partido was not as rapidly overrun by flocks as was the securer district to its north. In the Twenties the southern part of this partido reached to the Indian frontier, or near enough to it to make it something other than a land of heart's desire for men whose only purpose in the country was the pursuance of a peaceful and profitable industry. Rosas, though not yet a national figure, as *comandante* of the southern partidos was practicing, to the great advantage of all rightly inclined residents, be it said, those methods which in a few years after he applied to the whole Republic. Evil-doers, whether Indian raiders or criollo freebooters, found Don Juan Manuel's territory anything but a congenial sphere for their operations, and so the industrious foreigner, safe in his person and property, steadily increased. Sheridan, as we have already seen, commenced his sheepfarming in this neighborhood. Although it is said his first flocks were pastured in Casfueles, his first estancia, so far as I know, was called "Los Galpones" and was situate in the Partido of Ranchos. To him is given the credit, and I think justly, of proving that sheep were not such valueless animals as before his time they were considered by stock-owners in general. His method was not entirely the introduction of a new breed, but rather the crossing of merino rams and carefully selected criollo ewes. He was thus in a few years able to get up whole flocks of fine sheep with nearly all the good qualities of the foreign-bred animal combined with all the hardiness and climatic suitability of the Pampa race. His example was followed by others and Ranchos soon became famous for its flocks of fine sheep. Harrat, an Englishman, was in business with him, and later, in 1827, a young Scotchman, John Hannah, joined

him in the stock-raising business. Whoever wanted to work sheep, to buy sheep, to breed sheep, or learn anything good about sheep turned in those years to the "Galpones" and "Las Palmitas," and a writer in the *Revista del Plata* more than sixty years ago speaking of earlier times said that to these estancias "gathered, even in those years, the generality of Irish breeders of the hardier and firmer wooled-sheep" in quest of animals with which to improve their flocks. Sheridan and his partner tried the South Down race when first introduced, but did not like the result of their experiment and let the breed die out, so far as they were concerned. These sheep were introduced by the Government and kept for some time on the State Farm at Chacarita and after turned over in great part to the Sheridan firm, a breeder of the name of Capdevilla getting the remainder, who continued to propagate the race for some time, finally disposing of them to Mr. Bell, a well-known stockman.

What has been said of Cañuelas as to the value of land and the difficulty of purchasing, is almost equally applicable to the district of Ranchos. The plow, however, did not come so early nor did it move so rapidly when it did come as in the more suitable agricultural land of the neighboring partido. With the fall of Rosas all the southern districts underwent a great change, as did, indeed, all the more recently settled partidos. Lawlessness and murder became daily more common, and disastrous Indian raids are recorded from every frontier. A writer in the review, from which I have so often quoted, stated in the latter Fifties that all the settlements south of the 25 de Mayo and Loberias, except Bahia Blanca and Patagones, had already been overwhelmed by the Indians. Settlers around the Salado had for some time been turning their steps northward to the safer and cheaper lands in Lujan, Pilar and Capilla del Señor. Some of our people began acquiring lands about this time and in addition to the Sheridans, Gibbings, Glennons, Shennans and some others established themselves permanently. Dr. Gibbings, a Corkman, seems

to have been the leading Irishman in the district after the Sheridans, who both died young; Peter in '44 at the age of 52, and Hugh, who was a medical doctor and served under Admiral Brown, in '66 at the age of 54. The greater part of the Irishmen in Ranchos, in the days when they were numerous there, must have been hired men or shepherds having their flocks on very poor interest, for the Partido figures badly on the various Irish subscription lists, that I have been able to collect. The Father Fahey Testimonial in '65 which was very generally subscribed to throughout the camp had only eight contributors from this Partido. Ranchos was within the chaplaincy district of Chascomus, Fathers Connolly and Curley being the first district Chaplains permanently settled there. Earlier the resident Chaplains of Buenos Aires made periodical visits to the district as to all the other districts where there were Irish settlers. If our people were not blest with worldly success in Ranchos with the same lavishness as in the newer parishes to which they spread, they seem to have been favored with more security for their lives and belongings. The robberies and shocking murders so constantly reported from other departments were almost unknown in this district. Dr. Gibbings was a very energetic and public-spirited man, held several posts in the administration of the law in his locality, and this may to a considerable extent account for the orderliness of the place. A very sad occurrence, however, took place in the district in the April of '66; in a great thunder-storm the wife and two children of an Irishman, Michael Gannon, were killed by a flash of lightning, while he was engaged with his flock on the open plain.

Chascomus seems to have been the most favorable district for sheepfarming when that line of industry first became attractive to foreigners. Not only Irish but a large Scotch colony, also, established itself there before 1830. The first Scotch settlers seem to have been men of considerable capital for several of them bought land at a very early date in the wool-raising industry, and although there were

many Scotch shepherds and laborers in the district, the majority of this kind of workmen were Irish. We have seen already that the first passports issued to Irishmen, in the latter Twenties, were to the Chascomus district, and some fifteen years later McCann found the Irish population thereabout, "very dense." But as was the case in most of the partidos this side of the Salado, the greater part of the first settlers moved northward and bought land in the newly opened districts from Capilla and Lujan outwards. Still in the Sixties there was a large number of our people settled in that department and it has the honor of being the first in all the land to build an Irish Chapel. In 1863 a movement was set on foot to this effect, and early in the following year the Chaplain, Father M. A. Connolly, commenced the building, on Mrs. Mullady's estancia. The names of the subscribers to the building of the first camp chapel of our people have a special right to be recorded, and I am sorry I have not been able to secure more than a partial list of them. As some patriotic Chascomusian, however, may be able to supply the missing names, and take the trouble to do so, I will set down those I have been able to find, thus, at worst, preserving some of them. Here they are: Rev. M. A. Connolly, Messrs. Joseph Graham, James Gardiner, Widow Gardiner, Robert Wilson, James Farrell, Richard Wheeler, Edward Ward, Martin Griffin, John Bouland, William Browne, Andrew Mahon, John Farrell, John Lynn, William Bouland, William Jourdan, Edward Jourdan, Thomas Farrell, Thomas Ward, Nicholas Jourdan, Martin Moylen, John Duffy, John Dervin, James Furlong, Peter Keena, Patrick Cormack, Peter Mitchel, Pancho Hernandez, J. P., Thomas Mullany, John Jourdan, Michael Farrell, Geo. Alvarez, George Godoy, John Harper, Thomas Mullady, Francis Cardiff, Mathew Connarton, Annie Cardiff, Mr. Leary, George Cardiff, Thomas Kirk, Pablo Sanchez, Edward Kirk, Michael Killion, John Killion, John Dellomore (Delemar?), Andrew Bannon, Andrew Burke, Patrick Gardiner. The subscribers

of the largest sums were Mr. Wilson, \$3000; Messrs. Andrew Mahon, Thomas Mullady, Thomas Kirk, and Andrew Bannon, \$1000 each.

What need there was for an Irish Chapel in the district will to some extent be seen when it is known that the very year when the proposal to build the Chapel was taking material shape, Father Connolly prepared and had received their first Communion at Easter, nearly one hundred children. Chascomus was the first place, outside the Capital, in which the Irish Sisters of Mercy established themselves, and dreadfully they suffered there in the awful year of the Cholera. Probably no town in the Republic felt the dreadful scourge so severely as did this old southern outpost. The only physician in the town, Dr. Crosbie, with his wife was carried away by the disease. The Annals of the Sisters of Mercy mentions that the Sisters "had an excellent school" in the town and add: "But after some years the impossibility of getting daily mass, and other difficulties, obliged Rev. Mother to withdraw the Sisters." Saint Patrick's Day used to be celebrated here with a banquet, and at that of '63 it is recorded that there was an attendance of fifty banqueteers. There was only one subscription to the Fahey Testimonial in '65 recorded from the district, and this is hard to account for as there was no important camp settlement of our people at the time in more convenient reach of Buenos Aires. Probably the district collectors, if any were appointed, neglected their duty.

Like in most camp districts there were some shocking murders of Irishmen in the Chascomus camps. Patrick Larkin and Patrick McCormack were both murdered in the latter part of '68; the first was found, stabbed, in the camp, the second stabbed in an argument with a Basque about a race that had taken place a week before.

The year '70 was a particularly bad one in this and the neighboring partidos and many of the renting sheepfarmers headed the survivors of their flocks for other pasture-lands, chiefly west and northward. From about

that time the Irish population of the district has been on the decline. There are very few Irish-born men or women to be found there now, but people of Irish parentage or remoter Irish ancestry are to be met with in considerable numbers, and mostly well-to-do in circumstances. In September, 1872, an Irish priest, Mgr. John Joseph Curley, came here from Rome. He had the title of "Proto Notario Apostolico," and so announced himself. Father John Leahy, who had lately been appointed to the Chaplaincy made vacant by the death of Father Fahey, felt uncertain as to his own standing and that of Mgr. Curley, and wrote to the Archbishop requesting certain information on the matter, and that this information be supplied with permission that it be published to the Irish community. The request was fully granted and Mgr. Curley was shown to have just the same faculties, no more, no less, as Father Leahy and the other Irish Chaplains. It seems Mgr. Curley came very highly recommended; he officiated for some time in the Merced Church and in San Roque, and after returning from a trip to Ireland in 1873, when the Archbishop was making and confirming some appointments among the Irish Chaplains he was named to the district of Chascomus, Ranchos and the southern Parishes. In a reply to or sort of explanation of Father Leahy's publication of the Archbishop's reply to his request, above referred to, Mgr. Curley wrote as follows: "I have come from Rome and have been received here to minister specially to the Irish—I have received the same faculties as any of the Irish priests—Father Leahy's position and mine are alike. I have nothing to say to my brother priests, nor has he, the Curia rules us all. When it is satisfied none of us has anything to say."

In the early Eighties, Father Purcell, a young Irishman ordained in Buenos Aires, succeeded Mgr. Curley, who had been appointed Irish Chaplain of Navarro. The Irish Chapel of the district was then called "Mahon's Chapel." Father Purcell was removed to Capilla del Señor in '88, succeeding Father Grennon, lately deceased, and Father

Brady, formerly of the Passionist Order was appointed to Chascomus and neighboring parishes. He was succeeded, in 1898, by Rev. Joseph Geoghegan, an Argentine ordained in Ireland, and who although now deceased, was still Irish Chaplain in Chascomus, with residence in the Parochial House, when the century and my record close.

In the latter Nineties Saint Patrick's Day used to be still celebrated with special services, sermon and large gathering at Mahon's Chapel. The Chaplain's district then included Paravicini, Ayacucho, Lopez, Piran, Arboleto and Mar del Plata. There has been no regular Irish Chaplain in the district now for years, and for the non-Spanish speaking amongst our people the Passionist Fathers give missions at regular intervals.

From the fact that three Irish doctors had settled, as McCann observes, in the Dolores district within the few years preceding '44 that region must have then had a very considerable Irish population. It may, therefore, be regarded as one of the first three or four the Irish sheep-farmers occupied in large numbers. It was here the uprising against Rosas, in '39, took place, and as the attempted revolution failed, almost all the estancieros and others connected with it had to fly the country, or, being less fortunate, were prisoners in the power of the Dictator. Land for rent must then have been easily found and very cheap in that department, and this accident of the politics of the day very likely accounted for the sudden inrush of Irish sheep-farmers in the years immediately following Lavalle's attempt to overthrow the Tyrant. The newcomers, however, only came as renters and comparatively few of them acquired land. It was then relatively too far from the Capital to make sheep-farming on rented land permanently profitable. New districts to the west and north and not half so far away from the market were then opening up and the sheep-men of Dolores did as their fellows in the older partidos, only more so—they treked north and westward. Some remained on and their descendants are

there still, but amongst the land-owners enumerated by Mulhall there is none of Irish name. There is no department in the whole Republic, where there was once a large Irish population, that has changed so much, and in which our people have dwindled to such insignificance numerically.

With the exception of Chascomus, Lobos is the oldest town in the South, and away from the immediate vicinity of the premier city. It was founded well over a hundred years ago and was for long the farthest limit of civilization in its direction. It early became a great Irish center and numbers of the new settlers were quick to become landed proprietors. As early as 1853 the Irish far outnumbered any other foreign nationality in the district, counting 173 souls, the Spanish, chiefly Basques, coming next to them, and the English, including Scotch, numbering 41. The return of the wool produce of the district for this same year reaches the high figure of 10,500 arrobas. So rapidly did our people increase in numbers and wealth that one of the first chaplaincies established in the country was that of Lobos, in '57, I believe, Father Henry Smith, a missionary priest, born in County Meath, was its incumbent. Whether or not he was the very first camp chaplain to be appointed to a set district or not, there is no doubt he was the first camp chaplain to die in office. His death took place on the 8th of May, 1865, at the age of 60 years. He was ordained in the Irish college of Paris, and had been on the mission for some time in Uruguay.

In the year '61 a very highly educated and somewhat distinguished Irishman, in the person of Dr. Fitzsimons, came to Buenos Aires. He was a native of the County Down, and held a professorship for some years in a London University. Soon after his arrival in Buenos Aires, on the advice, it was said, of Father Fahey, he established a school for boys in Lobos. When Hutchinson wrote his "Gleanings," he mentioned that the Irish settlers of Lobos founded the school; Dr. Fitzsimons published an indignant contradiction of this in a letter to the press, asserting that

he and he alone was the founder. Hutchinson being still in the country, hastened to point out that the Doctor had misinterpreted him, he did not deny that Fitzsimons organized the school, but what he held was that the founding of the school was the building of the house and the paying for it, and the people of Lobos had done that. The Professor remained but one year in Lobos, and in '68, at the solicitation of the Archbishop and Father Fahey, it was said, opened St. Patrick's College in Flores, Buenos Aires. To this college many of the sons of the well-to-do Irish sheepfarmers and business men of the camp and city came. That he was a capable teacher, from the business point of view, that is, in communicating to his pupils sound business instruction, I have no doubt. But that he was a good, or medium, educator in the true sense of the word, namely, a drawer-out, developer and director of the best qualities and dispositions in the youth entrusted to him must be denied. And for the one simple reason that he sought to make those youths something wholly different from what nature intended them to be—they were Argentine citizens, born of Irish parents, and he sought to make them into English subjects. The report of his school for the year 1865, as published in the "Standard," is worth quoting from here, for it to some extent explains many things which most people have been unable to understand in what is called the *educated Irish-Argentine* of the generation which is now dying out. Said the report: "If any one history above another claims our attention it is that of England—the history of an Empire on which the sun never sets—whose language is spoken all over the world; a nation that holds in its hands the destinies of man, and whose constitution is a model for the countries of the earth, or, as it has been justly styled, the admiration of surrounding nations and the glory of its own. History is fully appreciated and well taught at St. Patrick's. We had a convincing proof of this on Thursday last—the students enjoy in this respect peculiar advantages under Dr. Fitzsimons, who, during his

connection with the London University, was reputed one of the most distinguished lecturers on the constitutional history of England. The subject matter embraced the period from the Roman invasion down to the succession of the Stuart dynasty. The students under examination did not stand together, but came up separately to a little pulpit in the center of the hall. It was a trying ordeal and well they acquitted themselves, each returning from the tribune with applause. Master Denis Harrington's resume of the entire history—mapping it into periods, showing the rise and fall of each dynasty, with dates of accession, the great constitutional changes indicating the growth of what is termed the British Constitution was executed in masterly style. Hubert Rourke on the Norman dynasty was truly good. Masters Scully, Ham and Kenny on the Plantagenet, Lancaster and York, and Tudor dynasties proved themselves to be masters of the subject." And so on with many other unfortunate Irish-Argentine boys whose time was thus being worse than wasted. There were also recitations and declamations all of a piece with the history teaching. There is nothing about Argentine or Irish history. These Argentine boys were evidently not taught to feel any pride in their own or the land of their fathers; and thus in ignoring their native country and the country from which their race was sprung, and in setting their minds wholly on the great people and events of a foreign nation, he made of his boys, in as far as his history-teaching went, bad Argentines. In shutting out from their intelligence all memory of the race and the land of their fathers he denied them the best store of inspiration that boys or men, in any land or time, can feed their minds from. In teaching that there was an English Constitution he was forcing them to take a myth for a fact, there is not now, and there never was, an English Constitution. This alleged constitution that was taught to be the "admiration" and "glory" of the nations around still maintained the cruel and degrading Penal Laws against Catholics and such others as were not

of the State Church, "by law established"—not by the *Constitution*, note; and further, compelled the monarch, before recognizing him or her, as the case might be, to swear in the most solemn manner that all Catholics, in or out of his or her dominions, were idolators! What glory and admiration, Mr. Fitzsimons, from the County Down! The myth about a constitution had not yet taken shape when the English King and his nobles had suppressed and plundered the old Church, for their own aggrandizement, and established, by law, the new one, which new one promptly ratified the aforesaid suppression and plunder, but on the condition, of course, that it should have a due proportion of the plunder. These then were the glorious and admirable conditions Dr. Fitzsimons was training his Irish-Argentine pupils to extol and worship. The Empire "on which the sun never sets," I need scarcely stop to mention, is the outward sign and testament of centuries of daylight and dark-night robbery, murder and oppression. What a worthy subject with which to encumber and stultify Irish-Argentine minds! The youngsters who "proved themselves to be masters" in their knowledge of the Plantagenets, Lancasters and Tudors never heard within their school, it would seem, the names of San Martin, Pueyrredon, Belgrano, Liniers or Guemes, and I can well suppose that the mention of the Inny's banks. Tubberneering or the "stony hills of Clare," places in which the parents of his pupils passed their youth, would be taken as extremely vulgar if not actually treasonable by the distinguished professor. Thus the result of Dr. Fitzsimons' "education" was the instilling of a knowledge which in after life his students could not use amongst their associates and friends without making themselves some-things of a nuisance. Many of them went back to the camp from school, and in the midst of more natural surroundings forgot as much as they could of the exotic balderdash they wasted their schooldays in learning, whilst others of weaker mentality and less fortunate environments grew into pretentious snobs and are to-day to a considerable

extent, with those they influenced, the shoneen element in the Irish-Argentine community—the people who get themselves called “Anglo-Argentines” in the press “society notices.” I have met a few of Dr. Fitzsimons’ pupils who, strange to say, held fast to the old Irish ideals, but most of them turned out poor as Argentines and poorer as Irish.

I have made a long digression from my glance at the settlement and progress of the Irish in Lobos, but before parting with Dr. Fitzsimons let me add, that, fortunately, his college in Flores lasted only a few years. He moved to other locations in the city and later to Paraná where he was placed at the head of the National College of Corrientes, and died there in 1871, his son James succeeding him. He was a highly learned man and much respected by the Ministry of Education of the nation. His shoneenism, like that of the Mulhalls, was a circumstance of his bringing-up, perhaps an inevitable one, and also of the abnormal conditions of the times and the country in which his early lot was cast. But we who have fallen upon happier times and know better things must not fail to spread the light when and wherever we can. And now, back to Lobos.

When the war with Paraguay broke out many were the manifestations of patriotism through the country, but one which took a very practical form was the collecting of funds to sustain the wives and families of the National Guard who were called away from their business affairs to the defense of the nation. The Irish of Lobos were amongst the first to lend their aid, and the following list of subscribers to the patriotic fund, although probably not complete, is quite creditable to the Irish residents. The collection was handed in in September, 1865, and here is the list of subscribers: Michael Geoghegan, Patrick O’Neill, Alex. Harvey, Joseph Flynn, Alex. Milne, Edward Walsh, Joseph Morris, Michael Sires, Robert Makleman, Joseph White, Wm. Milne, Joseph Conyngham, John Kersey, Robert Milne, Jas. Robertson, Patrick Smith, Alexander McGuire, Francis Meadow, Mrs. Ann Crosney, C. Thomson, Patrick Casey.

In Lobos, as in nearly all the camp parishes, murders of Irishmen in the early days of settlement were frequent and terrible. Some of the most shocking and long-remembered were those of the brothers Scally on the Acosta estancia in '64, and that of Mrs. Buckley in '65. The two Scallys and their brother-in-law Reilly were playing cards one evening in Scally's house, when a neighboring native with whom Scally had some words the day before, walked in and without a word plunged his knife in the stomach of one of the Scallys. In an attempt to defend themselves the other Scally was mortally wounded and Reilly got several stabs. The murderer then went to the local head of police saying that there must be something wrong at Scally's as their sheep were not corralled for the night. Mrs. Buckley was fearfully cut and stabbed by a young native while her husband was away a little distance in the camp bringing in his flock. She had an infant in her arms who, although stabbed by the murderer, recovered. When poor Buckley went to the police to report the crime he was himself placed under arrest and put to endless trouble. Such awful murders and such negligence and stupidity, or worse, on the part of the police, were maddeningly common everywhere throughout the far partidos in those days.

Father Kirwan was appointed Irish Chaplain of Lobos immediately after Father Smith's death and continued there for many years, till failing health made the labors of so extensive a chaplaincy more than he could satisfactorily attend. He was succeeded by Father Curran who resigned the post in 1877, with the intention of retiring to Ireland, but later accepted the Irish Chaplaincy of Navarro. He was succeeded by Father Davis, an Englishman, who died some six years later in the British Hospital of Buenos Aires.

Guardia del Monte, or Monte as it is now commonly called, was founded in colonial times as an outpost of the Indian borderlands. It was a stronghold occupied, like Chascomus, and Lobos at a somewhat later date, by a few

companies of Spanish soldiers who kept an eye out on Indian movements and who prevented depredations by the savages, when possible. Whenever a great body of the aborigines moved forward the Guardias, or Guards, who were usually advised of the projected movement by friendly, half-civilized Indians, beforehand, retired northward, all the settlers with their stock and movable properties going ahead of the military. Sometimes reinforcements came from Buenos Aires in time to check the advance of the invaders, and these latter usually suffered so badly that they fell back further into the desert than where was previously the limit of their undisputed territory. The wild men had little discipline and no fire-arms, their purpose was plunder or the avenging of some wrong or insult of a local or tribal nature. So they rarely made anything like a steady and systematic campaign, but their forays, nevertheless, greatly hampered the progress of the frontier districts. As early as the year Forty, Irish sheep-farmers had spread their flocks over the northern part of this parish, and it was one of the places, like Dolores, which became suddenly occupied; but the occupation here was of a more permanent nature, and Monte is still a somewhat strong Irish center.

In the *Revista del Plata* there is a rather interesting article on what the writer calls "the discovery" by an Irishman of a new and perfectly safe method of castrating horses. He tells that he witnessed the operation himself, performed by the "discoverer," in Monte, in 1847. He considers the "discovery" of very great importance and recommends it to all owners and breeders of horses; for he says, no matter how the weather, or what the season may be castration by this method may be effected with perfect safety. The method in question was rather an introduction than a discovery, for according to the description of the performance of the operation it was nothing more nor less than the form of castration in common practice in Ireland in such cases. But Monte seems to have been the first scene of its performance in this country.

After the fall of Rosas Indian raids in the southern districts became more frequent and disastrous, and in the three years, 1854-5-6, the raiders carried away no less than four hundred thousand head of cattle, and, in addition, burned and destroyed property valued at a million-and-a-half dollars. This discouraging state of affairs had its bad effect on the Irish settlers of Monte and many of them sought for safer lands whereon to abide. Still-and-with-all, by the year 1860 it was a fairly strong Irish settlement, and one meets as estancieros of the district men of such names as, Brady, Bird, Dillon, Whitty, Kenny, Killemet, Hogan, Cloughan, Gilligan and many others. The Irish Chaplain of Lobos attended to Monte and the surrounding parishes, and in the appointment of Father Curran to Lobos in 1874, Saladillo was added on to the chaplaincy.

Murders of Irishmen, by natives, in Monte were many and most revolting. Not far from the town, in the year '62, a native attacked an old Englishman, named Davy, trying to ride him down. Davy struck the native's horse with his stick, the rider jumped off and stabbed the old man several times. A young Irishman named John Gilligan, attracted by the shouts of the old man rode up to the scene and dashed between the native and his victim; the native at once turned on him; Gilligan rode his horse against him, knocking him down and then jumped off to assist the old man who was dying; while thus engaged, and entirely unarmed, the native got to his feet, ran at Gilligan and stabbed him in the stomach, causing almost immediate death. Mr. Ronayne had an argument with a policeman at a shop in the village, in '65, and while the wordy combat was in progress a countryman of the policeman came behind Ronayne and broke in his skull with a blow from an iron-handled whip. On an estancia named "25 de Mayo" a man living alone in a shepherd's hut, one Cosgrove, was stabbed in a score of places and thrown into his own well, and then everything in his house stolen. And so on. The recording of some of these awful camp murders will be useful to show

to the generation who have things so easy in their day the perils and fears their fathers had to face in founding their families and homes.

From the small sheep-farmers of Matanzas and the northwestern part of Cañuelas a considerable number of renters spread into Las Heras about 1830 and the years following, but as the land was all in the possession of native owners who did not take kindly to the banishment of horn-cattle and horses from their estates, except at an annual rent which was then prohibitive of wool-raising, at a profit, the industry made somewhat slow progress in this district, at the beginning. In time, however, some Irishmen acquired estancias, and soon almost all the landowners began to see that sheep were the stock which paid best and in a short time the parish became one of the chief sheep districts of the country. And so numerous and of such importance had the Irish population become by the year '64 that Governor Saavedra had the new church, which the Government had erected there, dedicated to St. Patrick, in compliment to the Irish residents of the department. As in all the other old settlements convenient to the Capital, the ever continuous spread of agriculture, and the resultant increase in the value of land, made renting for sheep impossible, and from here as well as from all the near parishes our people had to move further out.

Merlo and Moreno being, like Moron, on the great highway by Lujan to the northern and western provinces were early settled by numerous owners of comparatively small estates, and, except the first named, never figured to any great extent as sheep-farming regions. Amongst the subscribers, however, to the building of the new church in Moreno in '63 I find: Robert Kelly, Michael Kenny, John McLean, Michael Lawler, Santiago O'Mally, Patrick Hunt, Joseph Fowler, F. Langan, and J. Kenny. As will be seen when we come to it this parish made a very creditable showing in the Fahey Testimonial also. In the subscription list for the families of the soldiers fighting in Paraguay the

following are noted: Thomas Gahan, F. A. Pearson, Mrs. J. Dillon, Owen Lynch, G. Dillon, T. Lynch, Ed. Dillon, James Berne, William Timson, J. Kenny, J. Foster, J. Laffin, A. Malbran, J. Daly, J. O'Reilly, Ed. Slevin and Con Brennan. When Father Patrick J. Dillon, afterwards Canon, Mgr. and Dean, first came to Argentina he was appointed to Merlo as Irish Chaplain, and in the following year removed to Cañuelas, but owing to other duties then imposed upon him he did not settle in Cañuelas. John Dillon was the leading man of Irish name in that district at this time, 1864, although it is said by some that his father came to Buenos Aires from Spain. He held many high government positions and at this time and for many years after was Judge of Moron. There is still a considerable number of families in this district descended from the early Irish settlers.

After Buenos Aires itself, Lujan is the oldest settlement in the province, and was established soon after Garay's founding of the Capital, as a stronghold against the warlike tribes whose empire commenced just beyond musket-shot of the fort and extended to the Andes. The fort was called after the river on which it was established, and the river is said to have got its name from a Spanish officer who was drowned therein while engaged in operations against the Indians. A village sprang up around the fort, composed mostly by men engaged in supplying the wants of the garrison—cultivators of the soil and shop-keepers, both of the most primitive order. It is now nearly two hundred years since its first church was built, later it became the chief military center of the conquered territory. The treasury of Buenos Aires, with nearly two million dollars in it, was removed there when Beresford invaded the city; after his capture of the Capital he placed some of the principal men of the city under arrest as hostages till all the money would be surrendered to him. Later, after the Reconquest, he was himself sent to Lujan as a prisoner of war, but the greater part of the treasure had already been

shipped to England. These great historic happenings would tend to make Lujan appear a place of no small importance at this early time in the life of this country. Yet Robertson, who stopped here in 1811 on his way to Paraguay, had this to say of it: "Lujan is a poor place and almost deserted with three hundred inhabitants, more or less. It has a Cabildo, a beautiful church and spacious apartments, disposed in quadrangular form for the ecclesiastics." He mentions having got a very good dinner from the Parish Priest. In the days of the passports I find a number of Irish names amongst those going to or coming from Lujan; but it was not until about 1850 that it became a sheepfarming district. After Caseros and the retreat of Urquiza and his legions, for good, it commenced rapidly to be occupied by Irish flock-owners and their employees, and Mulhall, writing in 1875, was able to say: "This department belongs almost exclusively to Irish sheepfarmers, Brownes, Hams, Caseys, Garaghans, Kellys, Clavins, Murphys, Maxwells, Cooks, Kennys, Burgesses and Fitzsimmons; there being only twelve native estancias of any dimensions." Half the population at that time was Irish. Father Thomas Carolan was Lujan's first resident Irish Chaplain, and his parishioners presented him with a comfortable dwelling house. He was appointed to the Chaplaincy of Lujan, Pilar and Mercedes in '61, and retired to Ireland, owing to bad health in '68. The people, on his leaving, presented him with a very flattering address and one hundred and eighty pounds in cash. The address was signed by John Browne, Michael Murray, Owen Lynch, Peter Ham, Thomas Ledwith, Michael Fitzsimmons, John Dillon, Robert Kelly, James J. Allen, E. Garaghan, and Lawrence Kelly. Father Carolan was an Ulsterman; he was succeeded in the Chaplaincy by Father Samuel O'Reilly.

In 1872 St. Brigid's Chapel at La Choza was dedicated to the Patroness of Ireland. Mr. John Browne was the chief seconder of Father O'Reilly in his efforts to found the little edifice. The day of its inauguration was one of great

feasting in the district, with horse-racing, dances, etc., when the religious ceremony was over. Canon Dillon of Buenos Aires, who was a noted preacher, delivered the inaugural sermon which was said to be a very brilliant one. Mr. Browne was not alone forward in advancing religious and charitable institutions, he also took a leading part in promoting social pleasures and pastimes, and some of the first annual race-meetings in the camp were held on his estancia. The meet of January, '67, at La Choza, when nearly two hundred "irlandeses" attended, was a day long to be remembered in Lujan and its neighborhood, and even still a few of those who were present that day are left to tell the tale, and they tell it with no small pride.

So common and daring had the robbers and murderers become in this district, in the year '70, that the Judge sent the police after some noted desperadoes with orders to shoot them at sight and bring in the bodies. The authorities succeeded in overtaking one of the marked gang and in bringing back his remains. The body was exhibited in the police station for such length of time as sanitary conditions would permit. It was believed that these rather drastic measures would be effective in ridding the district of some well-known criminals who infested it, and many of the more notorious of them betook themselves to departments where the authorities were less original in their peace-preservation methods. Yet notwithstanding all this Lujan had its quota of dreadful murders, and even won a sort of prominence for wholesale and bare-faced robberies of horses, riding-gears, and household belongings. An attempted murder which resulted fatally for the would-be assassin is so much like an incident from a blood-curdling novel, or shilling shocker, of frontier or pirate life, and of such dramatic interest, as the newspaper men say, that I cannot refrain from here recounting it in brief. On the estancia of Señor Olivera there lived an Irishman named John White, and he was a widower with some small children; he was well-to-do, for he had interest in four flocks of sheep on the estancia

mentioned. One morning a native whom he knew came to him asking him for the favor of a little *maté yerba*. White, without a word, of course, gave the man a supply, as what Irishman in the camp ever refused food or drink to any neighbor in want? No more was thought of the affair, and at nightfall as he was returning from the folding of his flock, and near the door of his house, the same native jumped out from behind the other end of the dwelling and stabbed him slightly in the back. He had his little son by the hand, and it was the cry of the child, who saw the native first, that saved the father's life, for by this warning he was enabled to get almost within the door before the stab was inflicted on him and which also prevented the stroke being delivered with fatal effect. White had barely time to partially close his door and with his shoulder against to keep his assailant at bay. He called to his little boy to bring him some weapon, although there was no such article at hand, and this the gaucho knew well, for he muttered in the struggle: "I'll soon get it for you, myself." He was gaining ground in the forcing of the door, the children inside were frantic; the native worked in his hand so far as to inflict another stab on White, this time a deep one, on the thigh, and soon the door was forced. The Irishman tripped his assailant as he burst in, and both came to the ground together but not without the native getting in another stab. White in the struggle got hold of the knife of his antagonist, by the blade, and proving the stronger man in the contest he held the gaucho under him, and slowly moving his hand along the blade back to the hilt, till he nearly severed some of his fingers, he wrenched the knife from the fellow's hand and stabbed him in the throat. The gaucho cried out: "O, you have killed me." White answered: "If I haven't I will now," and with one stroke cut his would-be murderer's throat from side to side. The wounded man and the body of the dead man were taken to Lujan together. White was nursed at Father O'Reilly's house and soon recovered. The authorities and the public

presented him their thanks, formally, for the service he had done in ridding the district of one of its worst criminals.

There are still many Irish families in the district of Lujan, and the Irish Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady there, every year in which St. Patrick's Day falls on Sunday will forever give it special Irish associations. The College of Lujan, for the sons of Irish Catholic sheepfarmers, was opened by Father Emilio George in the beginning of 1877, and it was for some years the principal Irish school of the country.

Two other great days in Lujan that cannot be passed over unnoticed was that one in 1881 when Edward Casey was feasted and honored by all the residents, and especially by those of his own race, for having established in the town a branch of the Provincial Bank; and that other one, fifteen years later, much more peculiarly and memorably Irish, when the five beautiful altars to Saints Patrick, Brigid, Columcille, Malachy and Rose of Lima, gifts of Mrs. Morgan of San Antonio de Areco to the great shrine of the Virgin of Lujan, were blessed and dedicated with imposing ceremony and in the presence of an immense gathering, the nuns and children from the Irish Orphanage in Buenos Aires being present as the guests of the Morgan family.

Pilar although one of the small camp partidos or districts was at one time very largely occupied by Irish sheepfarmers. Its proximity to the city, however, and the numerous small estancias into which it was divided tended so to enhance the value of land as to make its purchase for sheep-raising undesirable. Hence comparatively few Irish settled there permanently. Although wool-raising had been carried on in the district for several years, it was not until about the year 1850 that Irish flock-owners became numerous, and for fifteen or twenty years after by far the greater part of the flocks that spread over its rich pastures belonged to Irishmen. In '64 a writer mentions that there were some four hundred Irish people in the parish, and who were generally very prosperous. He names amongst

the principal of these, Messrs. Kelly, Nolan, Healy and Young. Peter Healy was one of the pioneer Irishmen of the place, and as early as 1850 was one of the best known breeders of fine stock in the northern camps. One of the local wonders of the time was his receiving at public auction, in '66, for one of his rams, no less a price than sixteen thousand dollars (old money). Auctions in the camp in those days were something on the style of the ancient Patron-day at home. A great feast was made and sports and games provided for all comers. Healy's auction of the year mentioned seems to have been one of the big events of Pilar and surrounding parishes for that season. The Irish Chaplain at Merlo first and at Lujan afterwards attended also to Pilar.

Some seventy years ago the first Irish settled in Capilla del Señor. At that time only the village was known by this name, the parish being that of Exaltacion de la Cruz, which title is the one officially recognized, although seldom heard in popular parlance, "Capilla" being applied to the whole department urban and rural. With the exception of Carmen de Areco, some dozen or fifteen years later, no department in all the Republic became so suddenly and thoroughly an Irish center as did Capilla del Señor. And as a very large proportion of the lands all around is in the ownership of the children and grandchildren of the Irish settlers of two generations ago, it is still, and likely for long to be, one of the leading Irish districts of the country.

The first Irish stock-men who settled on the lands around Capilla were men who had already acquired considerable wealth and as the laws dealing with the purchase and title-deeds of land were now such as to inspire confidence many of those new settlers invested their cash capital in the purchase of estates, so that by the year '63, one-fourth of the parish, more than seven square leagues, was owned by Irishmen; chief amongst whom were, Culligan, Gaynor, Patrick Scully, Fox, Lennon, James Scully, Tormey, Pew and Harrington. It is worth while noting

that sheep-farming was not the sole occupation of camp Irishmen in those days. John Harrington was then trying agriculture and Capilla, as well as Lujan, had its Irish boot and shoe-maker at the same period. Capilla's first great Irish day was in March, '66, when the Governor of the Province and the Bishop of Buenos Aires, Saavedra and Aneiros, respectively, came out from the Capital to open the new Church. I may mention, in passing, that Capilla del Señor owes its fine Church almost wholly to the generosity of the Irish residents in its vicinity. Lujan was the nearest place to Capilla where a train touched in those days, and hither the Bishop and Governor came from Buenos Aires. With the exact formality for which the Spanish race is noted the authorities of Lujan received the distinguished heads of the Church and State and accompanied them to the utmost limit of their official territory. At the line of demarcation between the two departments a new set of officials stood ready to receive the aforesaid dignitaries and conduct them to the scene of the day's ceremony. It is just fifty-one years since this famous day in Capilla, yet I have been able to meet very few who could say they had anything more than a faint remembrance of it. The conveyance of the distinguished officials from Lujan to Capilla was effected in coaches belonging to Irish estancieros of the district, that of James Scully, driven by his son Luke, getting pride of place for bearing Governor Saavedra and some of his suite. Father William Grennon was the Irish Chaplain, and had done much towards bringing the church to completion. The gathering at the inauguration of the Church was the largest congregation of Irish yet seen in any camp town, and the procession that conducted the Governor and Bishop to and from the function was imposing and picturesque to a degree far beyond anything ever witnessed in the country-side before. As soon as these good people of Capilla got their anxieties as to the establishing of a worthy edifice wherein to worship God, reasonably allayed, they seem to have set about

organizing a reasonable and useful method of amusing themselves. Although there may have been attempts at high class horse-racing in the district before the year '67, there is no question that the meet of that year may be taken as the starting point in what was for a number of years the most important and successful Irish race-meeting in the country. The names of some of the race horses and their owners are worth preserving. First in the principal race, Mathew Dillon's "Chieftain"; Second, John Shanaghan's "Fenian Boy"; Third, Patrick Murray's "Shamrock"; Fourth, George Bird's "Clear-the-Way," and last, Martin Fox's "Volunteer." But it was not all piety and gaiety with them in The Chapel of the Lord in those now far-off and nearly forgotten times. The dread cholera of the summer of '67-8 overran the parish and turned, for a season, its happy homes into places of fear and sorrow. At times the death-rate of the place rose to 18 per day, and when the awful malady wore off and passed away it was found to have filled more than four hundred new graves. The Irish residents, however, suffered very lightly. The Irish Chaplain was the only priest in the parish at the time, and he, Dr. Priestly and the apothecary, all Irishmen, got great praise from the authorities and public for their unsparing services to all the people indiscriminately. Scarcely was the trouble of the epidemic over when our countrymen found themselves face to face with another serious difficulty. It seems the authorities sought to enforce some kind of a law or regulation by which no foreigner or son of a foreigner could discharge the duties of capataz or foreman on any estancia, not even in the case of a son on that of his father. A very angry meeting of protest was held in the town, at which it was shown that the foreigners owned a decidedly large proportion of the property of the district. The local authorities were often very jealous of the progress and wealth of the strangers and would gladly levy tribute on them in every possible way, but the national and provincial executives were always

extremely fair, and even friendly, to the Irish. Capilla like other parts of the country where the bad native—the gaucho, or half-breed of the plains—was still at large had its crimes of murder and robbery, although in a lesser degree than most other rural departments, but this one I am going to mention, for wanton cruelty and savagery, is quite as horrible as anything I have found on record anywhere. A thirteen-year-old boy, of the name of Keegan, was sent by his sister, a Mrs. Murray, to Capilla for some little message, and while on his way, it was about noontide, at a place called Cañada Romero, the poor child was attacked by a native and chopped and stabbed in the most frightful manner. This shocking crime was committed in broad daylight, and within very short distance of two of the principal police authorities of the district. The boy was an orphan, and by all accounts a most inoffensive youth. No one was arrested, no one was punished, although it was commonly believed the police knew perfectly well who the ferocious criminal was.

Father John Cullen was Capilla's first Irish Chaplain, he came to the country in 1856, with the Sisters of Mercy, and attended the northern parishes where his flock was then very widely scattered and not very numerous; he was appointed resident Chaplain in the town of Capilla del Señor in 1857, and retired to Ireland ten or eleven years later. He was succeeded by Rev. William Grennon, a Kings County man, I believe, who in '74, after being eight and a half years in the country, and some seven, or so, in Capilla, went home to recover his health. Father O'Reilly of Lujan attended the parish in his stead until Father Davis, an Englishman, was sent out to the place. This latter priest was not popular with the Irish, and few if any amongst them were sorry when Father Grennon returned to his old post. Father Davis was something of an orator and frequently preached in San Roque Chapel in the Capital; he had been for a while in Montevideo before coming to Buenos Aires; he was a missionary priest, and to say that

he was a typical Englishman is to give sufficient explanation as to why he did not get along well with the truly-Irish Irish. Father Grennon returned after a season to his old post and died in January, 1888; Father Purcell, then in Chascomus, succeeded him and filled out the remaining years of the century.

The Irish of Capilla del Señor seem to have been always of an especially public-spirited disposition. Any infringement or attempted infringement of their rights or privileges, or the good name of their district, was usually met at full tilt and vanquished. In 1881 there seems to have been a very sordid and intolerable kind of monopoly preying on the poor of the place—the rich, of course, can always afford to be fleeced. People died in Capilla as elsewhere and when they died, it goes without saying, they had to be buried. But in all the parish there was but one hearse, and this one was owned by a kind of a Charon, duly modernized to meet the times and circumstances, but with business principles more elastically arranged. For while the old Classic undertaker had his fixed obulo fare for one and all the Capilla man slid his extortions in accordance with the circumstances of the family unfortunate enough to need his services. But as at the Styx Crossing there was a Hercules for the case of the little camp town. Father Grennon and a few of his parishioners, Dillon, Gaynor and Scully raised a fund to purchase a public hearse and the Charonian trust or monopoly, I believe the word “trust,” in this sense, was not known then, was at an end. There are some new towns throughout the provinces at the present day where a Father Grennon and his friends are badly needed to bring some of the “pompas funerales” people to a sense of decency in what is usually a sad and always a very solemn necessity of society. None of the settlements of our people has longer, more honorable and continuous Irish traditions than Capilla. It was amongst the first and it is still amongst the foremost Irish districts of the Republic.

From Capilla del Señor the Irish spread into the parishes

of Zarate and Baradero, although it is probable there were a few Irish settlers in the latter department years before any of our countrymen found a footing in Capilla. Patrick Lynch had a large cattle and sheep ranch in the partido about the year 1830, and in the "Gaceta" of 1827 there are some people of Irish name reported as seeking passports to that district. Zarate had a famous sheep-stealing case some sixty years ago which almost became an international question. An Irishman named Patrick Wynne settled there on the Castez camp; soon after a noted Basque sheep-stealer from Pilar came and rented camp beside him and immediately set to stealing the Irishman's sheep, on the wholesale. Wynne complained again and again to the authorities, but got no satisfaction; he brought the matter before the British Consul but that functionary did not bother much about the case, the "Standard" took it up then, but as his flock was every day dwindling away very noticeably, although the death rate was nothing more than normal, he removed his remaining animals elsewhere. The Basque, whose flock even when in Pilar was the wonder of all the country for its large and continuous increase at all seasons of the year and under every kind of pasture conditions, kept on increasing even after Wynne had left. A wealthy native neighbor who had no small influence with the authorities found it so unaccountable that his flock should be shrinking while his new neighbor's was holding its own, or a little more, called in the police to help him elucidate. The ever-increasing flock was carefully examined and in addition to a good proportion of animals of the investigating neighbor's mark, sheep of twenty-six other brands were found in the corral. The Basque was taken prisoner to "the Castle" of Mercedes and by the time the law and other claimants were satisfied the miraculous increases of the previous years were fully explained and mercilessly reduced. In '64 there were about two hundred Irish in Zarate, according to a report from the place in that year. The principal landowners amongst them were, Morris, Fox and

Cullen. Wool-raising in the district must have begun to fail soon after, for ten years later Mulhall's Hand Book gives the number of Irish then in the district as more than twenty-five per cent less than this figure. At present there are many well-to-do families of Irish parentage or ancestry in the parish, and taking into account the number of Irish employed in the meat industries of the district, it is probable there is a larger Irish and Irish-Argentine population in Zarate now than ever there was before.

In '55 a number of Irish sheep-farmers settled in Baradero and for ten years or so this number went on increasing; nearly all of them acquiring wealth and many of them purchasing land. So that in '63 the following are listed among the land owners: Wallace, Rourke, Brennan, Macome, Murtagh, Whealan and Parson. A peculiar thing about the municipal resources of the parish in 1865, is that the tax on billiard tables yielded a larger amount of income than any other taxable item. Agriculture on a large scale was introduced into Baradero in 1855 through the establishing by the municipality of the famous Swiss colony. The undertaking, the first of its kind in the Province, turned out a great success, and ere long the tillers of the soil began making the graziers move on. The district has still a large number of Irish families, mostly all wealthy, or in comfortable circumstances.

CHAPTER XIV

CAMP SETTLEMENTS CONTINUED—SAN ANTONIO DE ARECO—SAN ANDRES DE GILES—CARMEN DE ARECO—FATHER M. L. LEAHEY—PATRICK WARD—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS—SALTO—ROJAS—MERCEDAS—NAVARRO—CHIVILCOT—SALADILLO—25 DE MAYO—BRAGADO—NUEVO DE JULIO—AZUL—LAS FLORES—CHACABUCO—SUIFACHA—SAN PEDRO—ARRECIFES—PERGAMINO—RAMALLO—SAN NICOLAS.

SAN ANTONIO DE ARECO is one of the very old towns of the Province, but as an Irish center is of somewhat more recent date than Capilla. It is another of the districts where many of our people purchased splendid estancias fifty or sixty years ago for a mere trifle and which are now worth many millions of dollars. In 1863 a movement was started to provide an Irish Chaplain exclusively for the parishes of San Antonio, Giles and Baradero, and the following year a square of ground was bought in the town of San Antonio on which was built a residence for the Chaplain, and which has been continuously occupied ever since by an Irish priest, Father Richard Gearty being the present incumbent. Father Thomas Curran, who came out from Ireland in '62, was San Antonio's first resident Irish Chaplain. He was transferred to Lobos after Father Kirwan's retirement from there, and Father Thomas Mullady was appointed to the Areco district, in the year 1867. One of San Antonio's first wealthy Irishmen was Thomas Donohue, who died in '66; he had estancias in this and Arrecifes partidos and owned some twelve thousand sheep. The lands of this district are still largely in the hands of Irish families, and there is no department in the whole Republic, thanks in no small way to the Irish Convent there, where a more thoroughly Irish and patriotic spirit prevails amongst our people. In the year 1895 Mrs.

Margaret Mooney de Morgan built, equipped fully, and opened for public use the Clara Morgan Hospital, in memory of her only daughter who died a few years previously while visiting the Chicago Exposition. The Hospital is attended by nursing Sisters from the United States, and is an institution of the greatest benefit to the town and surrounding districts. Mrs. Morgan supplies all its wants out of her own, unmatched munificence. The Irish Convent, or Convent of Irish Sisters of Mercy, and the fine new College of Clonmacnoise in this town are also monuments to the piety, generosity and patriotism of Mrs. Morgan and her sister, Miss Maria Mooney, but their foundation does not come within the time of which my book treats.

The Partido de San Andrés de Giles, or as it is commonly called "Giles" seems to have been occupied by Irish settlers about the same time as San Antonio, but being more remote from the river coast, and any large town, land was more easily acquired there, and so, in the early days of sheep-farming, it was taken up more largely by Irish settlers and purchasers. I find, in 1863, the following names on a list of subscribers to the building of the Parish Church. There is a generous contribution after each one, which fact would suggest that they were not then newcomers or mere hired men, but people of stake in the district and of public spirit enough to see that one of the first needs of a community, a shrine wherein to worship God, should not be wanting. Here is the list I speak of: Edward Macken, George Morgan, R. Hall, W. M'Garry, Joseph M'Guinness, William Cahill, Patrick Wheeler, William Mooney (sen.), William Mooney (jun.), John Graham, John O'Brien, A. McCarthy, William Crinnigan, James Scally, Bernard Hope, John Campbell, Ed. Nolan, Peter Kenny, Thomas Kenny, Edward Morgan, Patrick Hill, Patrick Farrell, John Rooney, Patrick Dowd, Simon Lennon, John Clarke, Joseph Maxwell, Michael Mangan. The good work was not completed with this first giving, and soon after the following list appeared, largely a repetition



CLOONMACNOISE COLLEGE, SAN ANTONIO DE ARECO
Founded for Irish Priests by Senora Margerita Mooney de Morgan



of the one just given: L. Tormey, P. Reilly, Jeremiah Tormey, Michael Cormick, Joseph M'Guinness, Michael Kelly, Ann Kelly, R. Hall, J. Roberts, M. M'Garry, Ed. Macken, Ed. Cahill, P. Ham, Patrick Wheeler, William Mooney, William Mooney (jun.), John Graham, J. O'Brien, A. M'Carthy, Joseph Scally, William Crinnigan, Bernard Hope, John Campbell, J. Flowers, N. Mullany, Ed. Nolan, P. Kenny, Edward Morgan, George Morgan, Patrick Hill, J. Maxwell, Patrick Farrell, Michael Mangan, N. Galaher, S. Lennon, Patrick Dowd and L. T. Sawyer. These may be considered, I suppose, the original Irish-Gileros; it is a very respectable list from a small district.

A murder committed in Giles in 1868, apart from the victim being an Irishman, James Feeny, is interesting, in its results, as showing how cautious people should be in making close friendship with strangers, and how unsafe a thing it is to form a judgment on circumstantial evidence, at least, on some occasions. The case also throws a rather favorable light on the police detective-work of those rather wild times. Shortly after the murder an Irishman of the name of Robert McShane was arrested at his work on the Central Argentine Railway at Rosario, accused of the crime. McShane protesting his innocence appealed to the time sheets and payrolls of the Company to show that he was in Rosario on the date of the murder, and for some time before, and was duly discharged. A close watch was kept on his movements, and although he came and went to his work as usual he was again, after some days, re-arrested and lodged in Mercedes jail. He was then asked to account for how he was wearing a scarf of Feeney's and how it happened that under his bed in the lodging house of John Kearney, in Rosario, he had the riding gear of the murdered man. And this was how it happened: An Englishman, by name, Henry Audley, came to Kearney's to put up for some days; Kearney had no spare bed, but the fellow being a decent looking man, McShane agreed to share his bed with him, taking him for a camp man who had come into

town on business. The supposed camp man was grateful, and to show his recognition of the favor, and it being winter-time and cold, he made McShane a present of a very comfortable scarf, after a day or two he disappeared, and it took the good-natured Irishman a long time and with no small effort to prove to the authorities at Mercedes that he was not a partner in the crime.

Argentina has been remarkable from the oldest times for the large number of centenarians it could boast of in its population. In Giles, in 1870, there died a Mrs. Fagan at the great age of 102 years, and her husband who predeceased her by a few years had reached the still higher figure of 106. They were both from Westmeath, and were, each one of them, over eighty years of age on their arrival in Argentina.

Carmen de Areco, up to recently known as "Fortin de Areco" (outpost, or small garrison, of the Areco), was formerly commonly spoken of by the Irish settlers thereabout as the "Fourteen." The Areco river has its source not very distant from the town and flows by it, and one of its sharp curves lent itself very usefully to the forming of a strong defense for a portion of the fort which the colonial Spaniards established here. Some few Irish found their way into Carmen as early as 1855. The first of them to purchase land there was "Big Mickey Murray," mentioned already as one of the pioneers of the Chascomus district. By 1860 many Irish families had settled in the department, and some of the first subscriptions to the O'Connell Monument fund in 1863 were from the "Fortin." In March of the following year Father Michael Leahy was appointed Irish Chaplain of that and the nearby parishes, and his district extended outward to Salto, Rojas, Chacabuco, Arrecifas, San Pedro and anywhere else, in an outward direction, he found time or occasion to go to. From the date of his appointment Carmen began to figure as the best organized and most distinctively patriotic and progressive Irish center in all the land. At once he set to

organizing circulating libraries, reading rooms, clubs, schools and everything that could be for the enlightenment, the moral and social progress and ennoblement of his people. For a short while previous to his being sent to Carmen he served as Chaplain to the Irish Convent and Hospital in Buenos Aires, and generally assisted Father Fahey.

The first list of Irish names I have come across in connection with Carmen de Areco is that of the subscribers to the fund for the support of the families of the soldiers of the Republic in the Paraguayan War, July, 1865, and here they are: Dowling Bros., Peter Frazier, Thomas Wallace, Bernard Rourke, Nicholas Pearson, W. O'Connell, John Spring, James Carey, Tim Garraghan, John Rivers, Phil Bonner, Thos. Bonner, Archie Creig, John Goldsmith, V. Malone, John Carbery, Mrs. H. Kenny, John Duffy, Francis Dowling, Michael Murray, J. Mullen, J. Mullen (jun.), Michael Murphy & Bros., C. McGuire, J. McGuire, Michael Finnerty, J. Bannon, Michael Daly, P. Duffy, J. McGuire, J. Mahon, M. Murray, James Bannon, Peter Langan, Peter Egan, T. Kenny, J. Prud, J. McDonnell, Andrew Geoghegan, Patrick Doherty, J. Wheeler, J. Bates, P. Langan, Thomas Dooner, Thomas Murray, James Egan, James Mahon, Edward Burke, Jane Burns. The subscriptions amounted to over \$12,500. Next year Michael Duffy was appointed Alcalde of the department and John Dowling, Comandante Militar. The famous American estancia, the "Tatay," had already established a graseria; Samuel B. Hale was its founder, a man who was very friendly to the Irish and always gave them preference in his extensive employments, whether as shepherds or in other capacities. The Tatay used to be regarded as the best equipped and managed estate in the northern camps.

A fund to help the families of the imprisoned Fenians was started in Carmen in '67 and a very respectable sum of money was collected; the good lessons in patriotism and loyalty to the old land so well taught by Father Leahy

showed their fruits in this movement. Messrs. J. E. Finerty and J. T. Murray wrote spirited and patriotic letters in the Standard on the subject. In addition to the library established in 1866, the Race Club and St. Brendan's College, the men of Carmen started in '67 the Brehon's Athletic Club, offering many prizes in the form of books to be competed for in the exercises. Mr. John Murphy was secretary of this club. The great Carmen and Salto races were held this year midway between the two towns. A gathering of over two thousand people assembled to witness the events. The principal race horse owners were Murphy, Ham, Murray, McGregor, Martin, Dowling and Burke. The Irish College of Carmen, with Father Leahy in control, was opened in August, '69; the next year the great race meeting had to be suspended because of drink having been allowed to be sold on or near the course; many present taking too much and becoming quarrelsome; Messrs. Murray and M. A. Duffy being the chief stewards decided that adjournment was the safest thing to do under the circumstances. Thus a few non-Irish traffickers in alcoholic drinks were able to forbid hundreds a pleasant and legitimate day's enjoyment. Drink at such a meeting as this was particularly dangerous, as from the nature of things in the camp every man had to go always armed; and as such gatherings were made up of people of many races, and amongst them not a few who would be a danger, under any circumstances, in a crowd, the suspension of the meeting was a wise and very proper act. This was practically the end of horse-racing, on the Irish style, in Carmen de Areco. The following year, however, saw inaugurated a movement much more to the taste of the good Chaplain and to the credit of the Carmeleros. It was the first proposal to found a Fahey Institute and Boys' Orphanage. It did not then materialize, it is true, but the attempt to realize one of Father Fahey's fondest dreams was there and then commenced. A meeting was called in August, '71, to take steps towards the raising of a monu-

ment to the memory of the late Father Fahey. A great rainstorm came on the eve of the meeting day and only these few were able to attend: Father M. L. Leahy, Messrs. M. Duffy, P. Doherty, M. Murray, J. Murray, T. Dooner, T. McGuire, L. Wheeler, J. Mullen and M. Ward. The meeting adjourned to September 3, following, when a large gathering of the Irish of the district assembled, and resolved, "That the most fitting monument to the memory of Father Fahey would be the establishment of the Christian Brothers to take charge of the education of the poor and orphan boys of Irish birth and descent." This resolution was moved by James Kenny and seconded by J. J. T. Murphy. T. McGuire proposed and M. Grace seconded, "That a Committee consisting of Messrs. Duffy, Dowling, Doherty, Murray, Kenny, Dooner be formed to carry out the foregoing resolution and collect funds to that end." Mr. McGuire was added to the committee. The following sums were subscribed on the spot, in pounds sterling: Duffy & Sons, £20; Messrs. Murray, £20; McGuire, £10; Doherty, £5; Mullaly, £3; Grace, £1; Gannon, £2/2; Murphy, £2/2; Lyons, £10; Widow Shanaghan, £1/1; Rev. M. L. Leahy, £20. Father Leahy presided and James Bracken acted as secretary. "The Largo," as this Father Leahy used to be familiarly called, was not the man to take an enterprise in hands and after a brief fit of enthusiasm let it fizzle out and make way for some other grand project to be of like permanence, as was then, and still is, so much the fashion with our community in Argentina. He lived and labored solely for the good of his people and spared himself no effort or inconvenience where their true interests could in any form be served. And accordingly was he loved and all his efforts seconded by his people. No Irish Chaplain, not even Father Fahey, ever enjoyed or earned the whole-hearted loyalty and love of his flock more than he did. Having taken up the Father Fahey Memorial movement the following statement and list

of subscribers will show with what tenacity and good effect he pursued the project:

FATHER FAHEY MEMORIAL FUND

To the Subscribers, Carmen de Areco and Salto.

Friends:

At a meeting in town last July, it being found impossible to state the amount of Father Fahey's debts, it was determined to initiate a Memorial Fund to pay them off, and with the surplus to erect a suitable monument. The following sums paid in or guaranteed, and for which I hereby acknowledge myself responsible is our first installment.

M. L. LEAHY,

Carmen de Areco, Jan. 27, 1872.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Duffy & Sons, M. L. Leahy, M. Murray, T. McGuire, Mr. Mullaly, P. Doherty, M. Gannon, J. J. F. Murphy, M. Grace, D. Lyons, Mrs. Shanahan, P. Moran, D. McCarthy, Mrs. J. Mahon, Mrs. Mason, C. McGuire, Ed. Kelly, J. B. Dowling, Mrs. Murphy & Sons, Mr. Scally, L. Murray, E. Kenny, J. Furlong, P. Walsh, D. Coughlan, M. Murphy, J. Norton, W. Hyland, H. Mullen, J. Mullen, P. Howlin, J. McCormack, J. Kavanagh, R. Gray, P. Killien, D. Murphy, J. Bracken, M. Murray, B. Degnan, J. Moran, J. Gaynor, E. Fagan, P. Fallon, B. Fagan, W. Lynch, Wm. Brien, Mrs. Kenny, J. Cormick, M. Sheehy, J. McGinnis, T. Cordon, T. Dalton, P. Cordon, M. Lestranger, J. Moran, E. Walpole, J. Kelly, J. McLoughlin, M. Rigney, J. Tumulty, J. Lennon, T. Boland, M. Farrell, J. Kelly, J. Creevy, M. Finn, P. Carey, M. Killimed, M. Sheely, A. Corcoran, M. Scallan, J. Reilly, J. McGrath, D. Walsh, P. Ford, Mrs. Burns, P. Kinsella, P. Murphy, J. Flood, R. Murphy, J. Murphy, E. Boyle, James Moore, D. Ney, E. Hayden, Mrs. Rourke, F. O'Neill, J. Doolen, P. Codd, M. Connor, J. Rooney, P. Harkins, J. Doolen, E. Hayden, D. O'Connell, J. Mahon, R. Hammond, B.

Hope, A. Craig, S. Mason, Mrs. Rurke, P. Bryan, P. Whelan, P. Ganisder, Sarah Bryan, J. Gannon, T. Ros-siter, P. Bates, B. Parker, C. Flanagan, P. Martin, M. Daly, J. Rourke, H. Anderson, T. Mason, Jr., Miss Mason, Mary Mason, Eliza Mason, J. Mason, Jr., John Bannon, J. Byrne, C. Byrne, D. Brennan, W. Mulligan, M. Murtagh, M. Cassidy, M. Dowd, J. Murphy, J. Rodgers, M. Daly, T. McLoughlin, J. Finnegan, E. Geoghegan, C. Dennigan, H. Dalton, J. Ward, J. Stewart. Total, \$57,699.c/l.

SALTO LIST.

W. Murphy, T. Ledwith, J. Rafferty, J. Macken, J. Doyle, P. Downes, L. Ganly, P. Dalton, P. Keogh, Coyley, J. Rooney, J. Walsh, L. Gaul, J. Farrell, P. Farrell, M. Pierce, Michael Pierce, J. O'Neill, P. Rowe, J. Jeffers, J. Gaul, J. Murphy, P. Cormack, T. Cullen, F. Gaul, T. Cardiff, J. Pender, J. Roach, J. Coady, J. Keogh, P. Roche, Dr. Creagh, J. Allen, J. Rock, P. Scally, T. Downes, T. Cleary, J. Downey, J. Crowley, W. Bulger, D. G. Brett, W. Carr, P. Cleary, P. Toole, J. Lynagh, P. Carr, J. Keogh, W. Furlong, M. Browne, Henry Liffe, B. Carbery, J. Furlong, R. Hagen, P. Ennis, L. Carbery, M. Quinn, Mrs. Coady, H. Bannon, B. Mahon, J. Kenny, R. Daly, J. Rochford, W. Richards, Mrs. Hyland, J. Patts, M. Kennedy, J. Brennan, P. Young, W. Gilligan, M. Geoghegan, O. Ward, P. Ward, J. McGuire, J. Scally, J. Dennon, M. Farrell, M. Feeny, J. Heslin, P. Shanly, Mrs. Langan, J. Cormack, J. Downes, J. Kenny, J. Ham, J. Grennan, John Grennan, Sylvester Neighster, J. Mullen, M. Ledwith, P. Geoghegan, L. Egan, J. Wilson, D. Coughlan, M. Lynch, A. McDermott, P. Wallace, M. Gilligan, Joseph Daly, M. Cregan, Joseph Hafford, G. Ledwith, J. Drennan, E. Casey, P. Browne, L. Scally, L. Quinn, T. King, G. McDonald, P. Keogan, P. O'Loughlin, P. Lynn, J. Donohue, J. Lynn, An Irishman. Total, \$26,532.c/l.

No movement for the good of the old land was started

that did not strike a responsive chord in Carmen de Areco while Father Leahy was Irish Chaplain of that district. The Fenian Movement had its echo there. In '75 the Home Government (Home Rule) cause was taken up there, and a branch of the organization formed; O'Connell's Centenary was duly celebrated in the same year by a meeting in St. Brendan's College, and in 1880, when the Irish Relief Fund was started, there was sent from the district the largest sum collected in any one locality, about £300. Both the Father Leahys seem to have been nationalists of much more advanced views than the rest of their fellow-chaplains. The Committee formed in Buenos Aires to carry out the collecting of the Relief Fund, although they did their work very creditably, were not very strong from the nationalist point of view, and for that, or some other cause, Father Leahy ignored them and sent his collection directly to certain of the Bishops in Ireland, where he conceived the money was most needed. This action brought, indirectly, a little newspaper controversy between him and Mr. Michael Carroll, the President of the Buenos Aires Committee. Both defended their causes very well, but it can be seen that Father Leahy had no great faith in the Committee and its methods, and in all truth the Committeemen were not of the kind that would ever break many bones in making Ireland a Nation.

A seemingly, from the report of examinations for the year 1875, very successful Spanish-English College, under the control of Thomas G. Nolan, was carried on in Carmen for some time. In '78 the people of Carmen presented Father Leahy with a testimonial of £360 on the occasion of his starting on a trip to Ireland to recruit his health.

The trip, although helping him somewhat, did not bring about anything like a permanent improvement and six years later, after long suffering he died in Mendoza, whither he had gone with the hope of husbanding out "life's taper" a little longer. Nine years from this latter date his remains were brought back and interred in Carmen de Areco.

Some two years after the death of the Chaplain another Irishman, a more or less public character, and a very great benefactor of his countrymen, died in Carmen, Patrick Ward. He came of a famous family of bone-setters in Westmeath, and many a dislocated joint and broken limb from San Antonio to Salto, and from the Parana to Chacabuco, his skillful hands brought to order and usefulness during his career of benevolence and kindness. The cure, I believe, "runs in the family," and, so, he was not, fortunately, the last of his line of benefactors.

A strange man came to a house on Dooner's camp one day in 1886 and asked for a revolver or hatchet or any similar deadly weapon that might be about. The men of the house were not at home and the woman of the house fled to where her sons were engaged with their flock on the plain. A neighbor, by the name of Owens, was consulted, and he said he would go and see what the strange man wanted with the articles asked for. Soon after some shots were heard and when another neighbor went to make inquiries he found Owens dead in front of the house, and the strange man walking about leisurely. The police were brought as soon as possible, and when they came the strange man, too, was lying dead. He was a maniac, but unknown in the district.

In 1887 another fund for the advancing of the Irish cause at home was started in Carmen, Thomas McGuire and James Lawless being President and Secretary, respectively, of the committee having charge of the movement, and a sum of over £200 was raised. The next public spirited act of importance which the district had to its credit was the raising of the necessary funds to bring home the remains of its beloved Chaplain from their resting place in far off Mendoza. The Passionists were then in the district, and Fathers Cyprian and Victor took a leading part in this movement. The people erected memorial tablets to both the Father Leahys in the Parish Church of Carmen. I should not forget to mention that McGuire's and Dowling's

chapels were both in this district. The building of the Passionist Monastery, near the famous Irish district, Arroyo Luna, was commenced in 1892, and opened and occupied some two years later.

So much of what I have said of Carmen de Areco is true of Salto that I have scarcely anything, or very little peculiar to the place, to tell. It is older as a settlement and a town than Carmen, but like Carmen was a frontier stronghold at first. In 1820 Miguel Carrera, the Chilian fugitive and Argentine interloper, with a band of traitors, adventurers and Indian confederates assaulted the town, overcame and slaughtered the garrison, desecrated the church, sacked and burned the place and gave as slaves to the Indians its women and children. Father M. L. Leahy was its first regular Irish Chaplain. It became a sheep-farming district about 1860, or perhaps a year or two earlier, and by '64 it had quite an important Irish colony. Messrs. Patrick and William Murphy, M. Murray, John Hyland, and J. Riddle were then its principal Irish estancieros. As in Carmen, so in Salto, Father M. L. Leahy at once, on his advent to the place, set to providing his people with the means of moral and social betterment and progress. A club or society called St. Patrick's was founded and a circulating library was established in the town with the following for officers: J. Murphy, W. Murphy, J. Hyland, P. Browne, Ed. Casey, J. Ham; J. J. T. Murphy being secretary. Father John B. Leahy, after serving for a short time as Chaplain to the Irish Convent in Buenos Aires, and, of course, attending the Hospital and Orphanage, and generally assisting Father Fahey, was transferred to the district of his brother and so was, as assistant, Irish Chaplain in Salto, Rojas, Chacabuco and Carmen for some time. His stay, however, on his first appointment to the district was brief, as Father Fahey recalled him again to Buenos Aires in the year '70. Two years after Father Fahey's death he resigned the city Chaplaincy in very broken health and made a short visit to Ireland. On his

return, and for the third time, he was attached to the Chaplaincy of his brother. Like M. L. he was a very ardent nationalist.

Salto was one of the departments wherein robbery and murder of the foreign settlers in the first years of their coming was of so frequent occurrence as to give the district a sinister prominence among places of evil fame. And although the strong hand of the law began slowly to assert itself, as late as '76 and '77 some shocking deeds of savagery and crime were committed. An Irishman's puesto on Kenny's camp was broken into, the man murdered and all his belongings carried away. Same night, on the Hyland estancia, a number of robbers assembled and began driving away the sheep of a lone shepherd. On being awakened by his watch-dogs he boldly sallied out in pursuit and came in range of the robbers, at once commencing to fire shots at them and put them to flight without their carrying away any of his flock. On his return, however, with his rescued sheep, he found his house robbed of everything it contained of value, and even his horse and riding gear included in the spoil. The year following, within two leagues of the town, another Irishman, Martin Lynam, was attacked by two gauchos and died within a couple of hours after he had received fifteen stabs and two revolver-shots. A kindly native family who lived close by, hearing the shouts of the unfortunate shepherd, hastened to his aid and did what they could to save his life. Our people are to a great extent secure and prosperous in the camps to-day, but it is well, I repeat, they should be reminded once in a while of the cost and danger at which the foundations of that prosperity and security were laid. It used to be said that you could not enter Salto by road from any of the neighboring towns without passing over the lands of some Irishman. The saying, I believe, holds true still, although the roads to Salto are more numerous now than they used to be.

In 1880 a great Land League meeting was held in Salto, and a branch of the home organization established there.

In the latter part of the year 1880 prosecutions were instituted by the English Government against Parnell and many of his lieutenants in the land movement in the old country. Money was needed to defend the political prisoners, and in the first week of the year 1881 William Murphy of Salto started the local collection for the "Parnell Defense Fund," and the following subscribed \$7275: W. Murphy, J. Dennen, A Well-wisher, E. Casey, John Dennen, P. Geoghegan, P. Dalton, R. Doyle, E. Hayden, T. Daly, E. Kenny, P. Regan, J. McDonnell, H. Ravertos, P. McCarthy, J. Geoghegan, J. Reilly, P. McLoughlin, O. Geoghegan, J. Leonard, P. Wallace, T. Leonard, T. Dinnen, C. Byrne, T. Ledwith, J. Leslee, E. Hafford, P. Conway, E. Richard, B. Austin, J. Grennan, W. Bannon, M. Evers, E. Brown, J. M'Cormack, J. Hanlon, M. Neville, S. Keating, A Fenian from Catamarca, Fr. Leahy, J. Green, An enemy of the Downing St. Club, P. Scally, B. McDermott, J. Tuite, P. Connor, P. Killimet, P. McGuire, P. McManus, M. Scally, M. Gannon and E. Moran.

In 1884 the Passionist Fathers Victor and Cyprian started their branch house in Salto and opened a school; they have attended to the chaplaincies of the district ever since.

Although Rojas as an Irish settlement is of about the same date as Salto it was for twenty years after its opening up the very outpost of civilization in its direction, and its further borders suffered from frequent Indian raids even into the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Who, to-day, would think, looking at the innumerable farms and homes of Santa Fe and Southern Cordoba, and even to the hills of San Luis, that less than forty years ago tribes of wild Indians were a reality in Rojas!

James Ballesty was the first Irishman to purchase land in this department, and for long he was the leading Irish estanciero of the place. And no man, native or foreign born, took a truer or more intelligent interest in its welfare and progress than he. Soon after Ballesty came Tormey,

Fox, Lennon and Hughes, and by '65, six years after the opening up of the place, it was one of the great sheep-farming districts of the country, and in addition was making great headway in agriculture. Of its \$20,000 sheep in that year 65,000 belonged to Irishmen, Mr. Hughes being then the largest owner. In '66 Father Leahy founded its Irish Club and Library, and it was the first district in the country to start the Fenian Prisoners' Fund in '67; the following subscribed \$3670 thereto; James Ballesty, Thomas Geoghegan, John Lennon, Patrick Murphy, John Tobin, James Tobin, Henry N. Geddes (Scotch), Thomas Mullaly, Michael Dalton, Nicholas Pirce, G. D., Patrick Barret, Martin Feeney, David Walsh, Michael Keenan, John Gannon, Peter Claffey, Terence Toole, John Ledwith, John Cunningham, Christopher Dalton, John Egan, James Nicholson, Thomas Reynolds, Patrick Ward, Peter Ward, William Boggan, Michael Browne, Michael Scallan, George Furlong, Joseph Murphy, Mrs. Gill, Francis Doyle, William Furlong, Patrick Malone, Patrick McMinnigan, Wm. Harford, John Mullen, James Furlong, C. W., Thomas Connor, Patrick Ballesty, Timothy Dalton. James Ballesty was chairman of the fund committee, and John Gannon, secretary. As soon as Carmen started the Fahey Memorial in practical form, Rojas at once moved in the matter, and a meeting was called in the same month to consider the project. There was some little opposition not to the cause, but to the men who had taken it up, this, however, was smoothed over and the movement as to the founding of a Boys' Orphanage under the charge of the Christian Brothers unanimously approved. Messrs. M. Tormey, R. B. Browne, and P. Murphy made the Committee to take charge of the movement locally, with Father Leahy for President and Mr. E. O'C. O'Farrell for Secretary. Chacara extended rapidly around Rojas, much more so than in districts twenty leagues nearer to the Capital, and as early as '75 Mr. Ballesty introduced the latest and most approved steam threshing machine into the parish and let it for hire to the

farmers around, and this enterprise on his part had much to do with the advance in agriculture, especially in wheat growing.

Much has been said and written of the cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Indians, the truth, as regards the Plate country is that they interfered with the aborigines as little and as seldom as circumstances would allow. Thus, although there were garrisons at Areco, Salto, Rojas, Pergamino, Melincué, Fraile Muerte, and so on to Cordoba and Mendoza on the line of communications, twenty leagues west of the Viceregal Capital the Indians lived quite unmolested, save when they came eastward looking for trouble. But as population increased and land became scarce in the protected districts, the garrisons were pushed out somewhat and the wild men had to move back, but never, in those days, without a contest. Thus when civilization crept westward as far as the outpost of Lujan, it was time to clear a sufficient stretch of territory to keep the civilized and the uncivilized brothers a safe distance apart, and the Guardia de Lujan was established. In time with punitive forays, peace treaties and expeditions to the desert, "guardas" found their occupation gone, and in place of the fosse and stockade the city of Mercedes sprung up. From Lujan and Moreno as well as from the old camps of the near South Irish sheep-men crossed its borders soon after the epoch making day of Caseros. But the movement was not as sudden and as general as in the case of the camps more to the north. However, in the year '60 I find a very considerable population in the parish; and three years later the following subscribed a large sum of money as a reward for the man, or men, who would arrest and bring to Mercedes the murderer of Mr. Kirby and his workman, two Englishmen assassinated on Mahon's camp, shortly before: Rev. Thomas Carolan (Irish Chaplain), John Cotter, Thomas Ledwith, M. Heavy, M. Tyrrell, D. Dowling, L. Barry, O. Owens, T. W. Fitzgerald, W. Dennehy, Martin Synnott, John Dunne, R. Moore, R. Nugent, M. Murray, P.

Walsh, R. Coffey, J. F. Coughlan, J. Nugent, Michael Hogan, M. Tyrrell, J. Allen, R. Lodge, M. Culleton, J. Gallagher, T. Howlin, T. J. Fitzgerald, D. Casey, J. Dinneen, R. Rooney, R. Moore, L. Kenny, Ed. Garraghan, James Kenny, M. Gallagher, J. Furlong, Mrs. Cotter S. Burke, T. Doyle, J. Dinnan, J. Dillon, J. Slaven, M. Carmody, M. Murray, Patrick Gannon, T. Kilmurray, J. McMahan, J. Martin, Timothy Fahey, T. Ledwith, T. McGuire, Wm. Cleary, Julia McKey, Patrick Scally, G. Robbins, M. Kenny, J. Murray, J. Heavy, J. Kelly, Michael Tyrrell, P. Garaghan, P. Dowling, James Doolin, David Lennon, F. Crinnigan, M. McDonnell, T. Evans, Peter Kearney, B. Rourke, M. McDonough, T. Naughton, J. Murray and J. Glass. A report in the same year states that one-ninth of the land of the department belonged to Irishmen, chiefly these: Fleming, Dowling, Murray, Kearney, Kelly, Lowe, Martin, Hallion, Ledwith, McGuire, Tyrrell, Connor, Dillon, Flannagan, McKey, etc.

In '67 the following subscribed \$4200 to what they rather curiously termed, "The Poor of Ireland Fund"; it was, of course, for the same purpose as the fund in other places called the "Fenian Prisoners Fund." Like at all times here, and never more than at the present day, there were then in Mercedes some would-be Irish leaders who wouldn't be Irish all out. Those whose names figured in the list of subscribers to the "Poor" fund were the following, and it was hardly from them that the fund got its peculiar title: J. Gallagher, B. Furlong, B. Heavy, J. Fay, J. Heavy, James Gallagher, M. Connolly, R. Deane, P. Green, R. Moore, H. Deery, W. Cleary, T. Howlin, T. Scally, T. Geoghegan, L. Heavy, L. Murphy, M. Murray, J. McGuire, J. Dillon, James Duffy, T. Dillon, Rev. T. Carolan, L. Estrange, N. Browne, Peter Moore, M. Kenny, Luke Rooney, Frank Kelly, Dr. Hutchinson, Thomas Miller, T. Cunningham, Michael Healy, James Savage, J. Moran, P. Slammon, M. Slammon, Ed. Garraghan, B. Miller, P.

Sullivan, E. McGreggor, J. Browne, F. Slammon, E. Slammon, D. Bowes, Mrs. Ward and John Ward.

The year 1872 is the most important one in the history of the Irish community in Mercedes, for in that year the Irish Sisters of Mercy opened their Convent there, and a few months later Father McNamara established his school for boys in the town. In February the Nuns, at their own expense, rented and furnished a house and started their school therein. Very soon after Señora Josefa Gonzales de Saubidet made them a present of a piece of land and at once they commenced to raise money to build a house of their own on this ground, so kindly presented to them. A couple of months later they issued a circular naming the following Irish Chaplains collectors of funds for the carrying out of their project: Fathers Patrick Lynch, Samuel O'Reilly, James Curran, M. L. Leahy, Thomas Mullady, C. W. Walsh, William Grennon, and Edmund Flannery. Father Leahy declined to act, giving as his reasons, that until the debt on the Irish Hospital was all cleared off and the institution in a condition of getting on he could not ask the people for subscriptions for any other charitable enterprise; he would, however, be glad to forward to the Sisters any contributions given him for their purpose. Father Mullady seems to have been the first of the Chaplains to raise a subscription for the Convent, and the year after its foundation published the following list: C. Lestranger, J. Lestranger, Mrs. Nolan, M. McDermott, Mrs. Liffe, S. Mason, D. G. M. Ballanabarna, P. Casey, J. Keegan, P. Hogan, J. Campbell, M. Mulvihill, J. Allen, J. Noonan, P. Thompson, E. Maxwell, J. Dunne, J. Maxwell, W. Rooney, J. Caskell, E. Nolan, J. Vidal, J. Maxwell, John Melia, J. Gallagher, B. Casey, S. Martinez, P. Devereux, Mrs. Devereux, J. O'Brien, L. Hurley, M. Fay, L. Kilimet, T. Mulvey, T. Martin, J. Street, D. J. D., B. Fay, B. Gearaghty, T. Noonan, Mrs. M. Kelly, Mrs. P. Wallace, Mrs. E. Brownson, P. Caskell, P. Mitchell, A. Abbot, P. Keegan, T. Donovan, J. Walsh, P. Connolly,

W. Ryan, J. Hogan, J. Howard, F. Casey, R. Kirwan, B. Farrell, M. McDonnell, V. Aldert, J. D. Viera, J. Wheeler, H. Phillips, E. Duggan, P. Kearney, E. Malone, J. Nally, J. Gaffney, J. Cunningham, E. Cunniffe, T. Austin, T. Ward, P. Farrell, P. King, A Friend. Collected by Rev. P. Lynch, Lujan: J. Donlon, P. Moore, P. Donlon, W. Jackson, B. Heavy, T. Heavy, Mrs. Heavy, T. Clavin, T. Langan, J. Dunne, T. Newman, G. Clarke, G. Scally, An Irishman, L. Kirwan, John Cunningham, T. Cunningham, J. Ham, D. Clavin, Mrs. Casey, Mr. Armstrong, Miss Justa Armstrong also subscribed. The total of this first list of subscriptions published being \$21,180.c/1.

Father McNamara's college became at once a success, and had a very encouraging attendance of boys, but in its second year a bad epidemic of measles broke out amongst its pupils and the institution had to be temporarily closed.

The Sisters lost no time in pushing on the work of their new Convent, and notwithstanding that they had continued receiving subscriptions and donations, two years after the foundation of the house they issued a statement showing that they were \$168,000 in debt, and mentioned that they would have to appeal to the generosity of their country people for its liquidation.

Like other camp districts Mercedes early started horse-racing, and its meets were among some of the best and most largely attended in the country. In 1876 it consolidated with Navarro with the intention of holding but one meet for the two districts, and a difficulty arose as to which place should have the Race-course and meet. After some argument and disagreement they very sensibly left the question to be settled by arbitration. A few years previously, however, when the Race-course was at Altamirana so inordinately enamored of the sport did the people become that when the regular two days' event was over, the crowds refused to be satisfied and kept up the diversion for a whole week. The promoters of the meet tried in vain to bring it to a close at the end of the third day. The gathering, was,

of course, of all nationalities and the disorderly proceedings disgusted many of the people of the district, and set them rather against such diversions.

In 1880 the Irish Convent closed, the Sisters removing with those of the parent house in Buenos Aires, to Australia. A few months later another memorable loss befell the Irish community of the district in the death of their pastor, Rev. Patrick Lynch, on May 15. At that time the Chaplaincy of Mercedes included Chivilcoy and Suipacha. Father Lynch was, like Father O'Reilly, a Longfordman, and came to Buenos Aires in '67, he had been in failing health for some time and was removed to Buenos Aires to assist Dean Dillon, with the hope that the change would be good for his health, but it had the opposite effect, and he returned to Mercedes where he died, soon after. Father O'Reilly succeeded him in the Chaplaincy. Mercedes had a Judge O'Connor in 1866, and previous to that time robberies were greatly complained of, the police and the bandits, it was said, making common cause against the stock-owners. Some of the police, in uniform, were caught in broad day-light with the most noted robbers, in stock-lifting raids. No district suffered more from the Cholera plague. An Irish doctor came to the place in '72, Dr. Richard Windle, a Corkman, but he only lived a couple of years, dying in '74. As in all the districts where the first Irish settlers acquired a considerable portion of the land there is still a flourishing Irish colony in Mercedes, and its annual Irish feasts and pastimes are second to none in the country. The Pallotine Fathers, amongst whom are many Irish priests, have given to Mercedes the best and most truly Irish College in the Republic. This Order was established here in 1886 by Fathers B. Feeney, J. P. Banning, and W. Withmee. Dean Dillon was very anxious that the Fathers establish a Boys' Orphanage and a Training School, and with Mrs. Morgan's help, something in the order of a training school was started at Azcuenega, Giles, but was found not to be feasible just then. Father Feeney

was a literary man to some extent, and published a little monthly called "Flowers and Fruit," of a religious nature, but, like the training school, it was not the thing for the time or place, and it had a very short life.

Navarro as an Irish settlement is somewhat older than Mercedes, but as it first depended, as it were, on Lobos and afterwards on the more compact and advantageously situated colony of Mercedes, it has not greatly stood out as a self-sufficient center like some of those named. As early as '63, however, the parish had a pulpero named Sheehan, and his is the first Irish name I have come across in that business, outside of Buenos Aires. Two years after the district organized its first Irish Races. Messrs. Norris, Kenny, Fox, McClusky, Martin, Austin and Manny were the chief organizers of the meet and the principal owners of the race-horses. The parish was well represented in the Father Fahey Testimonial in the same year. In '67 its Races were equal, it was said, to "the best ever held in Mullingar." There were tents on the course, a band of music, dancing and all kinds of gamesters. Father Curran, in true home-Sagart style, cautioned the people to avoid drink and excitement and to keep the peace and such good order as would be to the credit of their name and race. A cup worth \$4000 was won by Gahan's "Sebruno" from Murphy's "Saino," the riders being J. Casey and J. Moore, respectively. The racing was for two days, but the meeting did not wholly terminate for nearly a week—those were funny times, good times, in the camp. The best of good order, however, was maintained, and it was Navarro's greatest Irish event so far. The racing was kept up for many years in this district, and was one of the very important meets of the camp.

On St. Patrick's Day a club was founded to assist the Irish people in "their struggle for liberty." The following subscribed \$3680: John Fitzgerald, J. McLoughlin, F. O'Loughlin, Peter O'Loughlin, L. Walton, M. Dillon, James McLoughlin, Owen Gearaghty, M. Daly, J. McLoughlin,

James Kenny, Bartle Fagan, Pat Murray, Pat Brennan, John Kelly, M. Sexton, P. Casey, W. Birmingham, J. Hughes, J. Byrne, Ed. Brady, T. Pidgeon, P. Finneran, P. Nolan, P. Kelly, J. Moran, Pat McGuinness, J. Clavin, F. Farrell, J. Shanley, Mgr. Curley, Irish Chaplain. Father Curran was for some time Irish Chaplain of the district, and in this year his countrymen erected in the Parish Church, a splendid altar to his memory.

Navarro had an Irish Judge, Thomas Kenny, in '81, and his investiture with the office was attended with great ceremony. Reports of the proceedings would to some extent remind one of the installation of a governor or president of some important state. The close relations between Church and State were nicely and usefully manifested in the function. A special mass was celebrated in the parish church, whereat the new functionary was administered the oath of office, and the day was held a local feast. Empty ceremony and pomp in the official business of a republic is not, on general principles, to be encouraged, but I think such a ceremony as this one was useful and its continuance on such occasions might be of public advantage. That an official who has to deal with so many affairs where moral rectitude and strict faithfulness to duty are the first principles required should be pledged, in the most public and solemn manner in presence of those whose interests will be in his keeping, cannot but have a good effect both on the administrator and on those to be administered to. There is much in a public pledge, or oath, especially when the parties concerned are face to face with each other every day while the pledge lasts.

Chivilcoy, although it quickly became an Irish settlement of considerable importance, was from its very beginning an agricultural district. A return made in 1853, when the department was still new, gave the number of "ingleses" within its confines as ten. There being seven Protestants, and there being no Germans or Americans recorded in the census, it is pretty safe to say that the seven were English,



MGR. O'REILLY, "FATHER SAM"
(At the time of his death, 1917, dean of the Irish Chaplains



which would make it appear that there could not be more than three Irish in the parish, in all probability. It had then nearly thirty thousand sheep and ten thousand squares of chacara. It would seem that but few Irish gathered in there before the middle Sixties, for there were but two subscriptions, in '65, to the Fahey Testimonial from the parish. In '68 the Municipality appealed to the Archbishop to send them a company of the Irish Sisters of Mercy as no nurses could be found who would attend to the cholera patients, and conditions in the town were most deplorable. The Sisters could not meet one-twentieth part the demand on them then here in Buenos Aires, and so, of course, the heart-rending request could not be complied with.

None of the new towns, nor, indeed, of the old ones, rose to importance so rapidly as Chivilcoy. In twenty years it sprang from the position of a mere camp village into that of first interior city of the Province. It owes this sudden and steady progress mostly to the fact that a large colony of Italian and Basque agriculturists was planted here in the latter Fifties on very favorable land tenure conditions. Sheep-farming developed also in the district at a rate scarcely surpassed in any other department, and by the year '80 it was one of the wealthiest and most important centers of Irish wool-farmers in the land. An Irish school was opened in the town by a Mrs. Bent in the early Seventies. In 1880 the famous case of the murderous assault on Mr. Patrick Cantlon, by soldiers, under superior orders, gave the place a rather unenviable notoriety. A revolution was in progress, and as in such times there was no protection for families, sparsely spread over the plains, from the bands of lawless ruffians and bandits who went about the country in the name of representing one or other of the contending factions, on military duty, but mostly to rob and outrage at their own sweet will, it was the custom with settlers to move their women folk and children into the nearest town, for protection, until order would be restored. Mr. Cantlon had done this, but had himself re-

mained at his home to tend his flocks and protect his household effects in so far as he could. It is right to say that single men who let the soldiers have what they wanted in the way of eatables and use the house as they needed were seldom or never maltreated. Cantlon got his family into town hurriedly when the trouble broke out, and some days later was proceeding to bring them some clothing and other things in the way of supplies which the hurry of leaving did not permit them of providing themselves with on their flight to the town. On his way he had to pass not far from an encampment of soldiers; he was hailed by one who demanded his horses; the plucky Kerryman, for such Cantlon was, refused the demand, and when the militaryman drew his sword to enforce his will, the sheep-farmer defended himself so well with his whip that the soldier beat a retreat to the camp to report the engagement. Immediately a picket was dispatched to bring the offender to the camp, dead or alive. Cantlon continuing his journey saw that the picket was on his track, turned off his road and asked admission at the house of a Basque. Just then the soldiers arrived and informed all present that their orders were to shoot the "gringo." Cantlon hastened inside and six rifle bullets were poured through the door, two of them lodging in his body. He was seized in the most brutal manner, battered and beaten without mercy, although supposed to be mortally wounded, bound and brought to the encampment where the "General" told him he ought to have been put to death at once. He was sent a prisoner to Chivilcoy where he was well-known as a most respectable and intelligent man, and the outrage provoked such horror and indignation amongst all classes that he was at once released, and with good surgical attention recovered in a short time. The case was brought before the English Parliament by some of the Irish representatives and the Argentine Government, I believe, offered him some compensation.

Father Samuel O'Reilly removed from Mercedes to

Chivilcoy in 1887, where, thirty years later, he died. He was fifty years an Irish Chaplain in Argentina, a practical believer in the simple life, he grew wealthy fast, and gave of that wealth in every charitable and patriotic cause, Irish and Argentine, with unstinted liberality. He lived to be the Dean of the Irish Chaplains, was popular with his people, a kindly and generous friend, a good priest and a good Irishman.

Saladillo, 25 de Mayo and Bragado were Indian territory for the most part till about the year 1860, when sheep-raising was extended gradually from the older districts adjoining. None of these seems to have become centers of attraction for Irish immigrants as did the partidos of the North of the Province; they each and all, however, had a few Irish landowners at an early date, and Bragado between '80 and '90 had a considerable number of Irish residents. The most common account from these places in their first years of settlement are of Indian raids, shocking murders and wholesale robberies.

In 1863 a man was publicly executed in 25 de Mayo who had committed twelve murders and many other monstrous crimes, and he was only twenty years of age. In Bragado a few years later a band of murderers, in which police officials and women figured, broke into the house of a Spanish inn-keeper, murdered him then laid him out to wake, with candles lighted, standing in bottles and a large open book at his head, the account says a Mass Book. Thus arranged they prepared supper and enjoyed a grand feast of eating and drinking. One of the females who was threatened with death by her consort, for her *loose habits*, went to the authorities, in fear of her own life, and told the whole story. But after all this it took a strong threat of an all-round dose of Lynch-law to make the Justice of the Peace and the Chief of Police take action in the matter. Saladillo, like Salto, and at about the same time, had a double Irish murder one night in June, '75. Two old Irishmen, Michael McCulloch and John Cormack had their

throats cut, almost to the severance of their heads from their bodies, by bands of roving assassins. In '68 there was a famous case of horse-stealing in the department of 25 de Mayo. Two Irish estancieros, Moore and Kenny, lost some thirty of the very pick of their horses. A diligent search was immediately made for the animals, by their owners, of course, and they were traced to the port of Zarate; but when Kenny came up with them in the port they were already loaded in a ship about to sail for Brazil. He identified the horses and claimed them before the authorities, but some legal difficulty was found between the jurisdiction of the Provincial authorities and those of the Nation, who attended to customs and port affairs, and the ship sailed away with the stolen horses.

Further out and newer are the districts of Nueve de Julio, Azul and Las Flores. There is little to be recorded of these departments, although they have all some Irish residents. John Gaynor, a rich Irishman of Capilla del Señor, bought and stocked some leagues of land in Nueve de Julio in '65. He was greatly pleased with his purchase and thought it was something very like foolishness to remain trying to make any kind of a living at all on the inside camps, when such camps, and so cheap, could be got outside. He had two Irishmen minding his sheep, and a squad of seven Basques working in the building of a fine mansion on his new estate. One day in the spring of '65 a band of Indians from the neighboring "long grass" suddenly swooped down on the poor Basques killing five of them, leaving for dead the remaining couple and carrying off horses, carts and everything portable that could be moved rapidly. The sheep being not of this latter category were left unmolested and the Irishmen got away with their lives.

In the *Revista de la Plata* is told an interesting story in the commercial life of the town and district of Azul. Life on the outer edges of new settlements was always strenuous and a good bit exciting, security for life or

property not very soundly established and business ethics, like the manners of the sons of the soil, of a rather primitive order. Hides and grease were the chief marketable products, and as the country for hundreds of leagues around was covered over with herds of cattle and troops of horses there was a big trade in the said marketable articles. A certain foreigner who kept a large business establishment and made money fast, supplied all needed goods to the surrounding districts and bought all salable articles, and, as well, had a large estancia stocked with cattle and horses. One day he said to a young gaucho, an employee of one of the principal cattle ranches of the department. "How much salary do you get from that rich man for whom you work so hard?" "So much," replied the young man, naming his monthly wage. "What a scandal!" exclaimed the kindly merchant, sympathetically. "Man, you cannot live on that wage, and moreover you will never be anything more than a mere peon if you do not try some other way of making a livelihood. Why don't you go in for collecting hides? It is a shame that a wealthy man like your master would not pay you a decent wage—I'll buy any hides you bring me at night and enable you to make a decent living for yourself." It was agreed. Next night the young man and a friend came at the appointed hour with a bundle of cow-hides which they heaved over the wall of the merchant's yard, and immediately rapped at the private door of the business man to collect for the goods just delivered. The little operation was repeated steadily for a month or so, until one day, by accident, the merchant discovered a hide with his own mark on it. He immediately called his yardman, who knew nothing about the arrangement with the young gaucho, to explain how this hide came to be here without his having heard of any of his bullocks having died. The yardman explained that he was mistaken, and that a great many of them must have died as he had been receiving their hides every night now for more than a month. The wrath of the merchant was very tempestuous and the

stupidity of the yardman was proclaimed to all within reach of the trader's voice. He stood well with the police, however, and when his worthy protege would this night come to receive the profit of his traitor traffic he would demand back all of the hundreds of dollars he had paid this perfidious robber for doubly robbing him, in not only killing his fine cattle, but having him pay the vile scoundrel for doing it. The young man presented himself as usual. The merchant fulfilled his promise of threat and demand. But the young man with an almost childish simplicity asked was it not the bargain that he was to bring in the hides and the merchant was to pay for them. "But," stormed the dealer, "not the hides of my own cattle." "Ah, Señor," meekly responded the young man, "you did not mention that; I thought it was all the same to you what herd you got them from, so long as you got hides, and you just pay me now for what I have delivered, or as soon as I call, a couple of friends I have outside will step in and help me to collect, and if you want to apply to the police, why, do so, but I have some friends there, too." The merchant paid up and parted with his young friend on the best of terms.

This department had very few Irish before the year '70, and even then it did not become a place of settlement for our people in any great numbers, although a few families purchased land there, and there were many Irishmen engaged on native and other estancias in the district. The place was raided by Indians in '67, and much damage done in the way of house burning and the driving away of stock. There are few Irish there now.

Flores was something of an Irish settlement in the year '60. It is said that the building of the town commenced in the year '57, but sheep-farming was then so profitable and popular an employment that all the masons and laborers left their bricks and mortar for the *chiqueros* and sheep-runs, and generally became wealthy farmers and estancieros in a short time. Flores was for long the greatest sheep department of the south. Mr. Daniel C. Kelly established

a commission agency for the purchase and sale of land there in '66, and his was said to be the first enterprise of its kind opened in any camp town. In this and the other parishes of the south there are still some Irish families, but rather scattered and it would be hazardous to even make a guess at how many they number. It would be a very tedious and heavy labor to search them out and note them down; but if some of our people resident, in these out-of-the-way places, would, in their leisure hours, enter down the names of those they know in their district, and any little data as to when they settled there, and whence they came, and send the information to the Irish papers, it would be doing a service greater than any of us may now be aware of, supplying very interesting matter to the papers, and performing a very patriotic and not unpleasant task. It would be of no particular matter whether the notes were written in the national language or in English, getting such notes into print, and as correctly as possible is what would count.

From Mercedes and Carmen de Areco sheep-farmers spread into the nearer parts of Chacabuco about the year '60. At that time the lands where is now the town of Chacabuco were beyond the pale of civilization. The colony of Chacabuco having been founded only in the year 1870, and the town being a place of but some 500 inhabitants five years after when Mulhall compiled his Handbook. The inside portion of the parish must have filled up quite rapidly with Irish sheep-farmers, as the Irish Chapel, "Kilallen," on Michael Allen's land was opened in '68, the opening is described in the Standard by the well-known, and brightest of all camp-correspondents of those days, "Fontenoy," Mr. Deehan. The two Fathers Leahy officiated. There was a great day's athletic sports, and dances were held after the day's work was done in some of the houses close by. Mr. Allen defrayed almost all the expenses of building the chapel, according to the account referred to. Father Leahy, as was customary with him, wherever the opportunity of-

ferred, founded a library at the church later on. At the opening of the library, Michael Kearney, a boy of 14 years, delivered a very remarkable address, for one of his age, on the event of the day.

As the Irish people with their flocks pushed westward and many new estancias were established, "Kilallen" was left far behind and a new chapel was needed. This want was duly supplied by Thomas Duggan in what is known in that district as "Duggan's Chapel," near San Patricio Railway Station. I attended Mass there in 1893 and was surprised at the fine, happy and prosperous-looking congregation that gathered there to the little edifice remote by many leagues from anything with even the pretensions of a village. But many a fair home and wealthy mansion with their white walls peeping through green plantations were visible in every direction on the wide plains. In those days for leagues and leagues around that locality it was all grass and sheep and horsemen. Some families, however, came to that Mass in comfortable brakes and coaches, and there were not half a dozen people in the congregation that were not Irish by birth or by parentage. The Chapel was in Father O'Reilly's district, but it was Father Patrick O'Grady of Mercedes who attended that day, "Father Sam" being occupied somewhere else.

In the latter part of 1881 Patrick Mulvihill collected for the Land League, in this parish, \$3550 from the following: P. Callaghan, J. O'Loughlin, P. Scott, J. Ward, L. Keenan, T. Egan, J. Reynolds, Hugh McGrath, J. Rush, W. Carr, M. Creevy, T. Fox, T. Farrell, J. Slaven, P. Reynolds, P. Downey, F. Crinnigan, P. Mulvihill (sen.), J. Conroy, M. Gerety, M. Dalton, J. Egan and P. Mulvihill (jun.).

Such notorious robbers and generally lawless men were the Judge and Mayor of the town in the middle Eighties, that fifty of the principal land owners petitioned the Government to have the department relieved of them. The district has still a large and flourishing Irish community.

Suipacha was formerly part of the Mercedes department, and the settlement of our people there dates from the same time as their settlement in Chacabuco. The Irish Chaplain of Mercedes was their Chaplain until the year 1879 when Father Lawrence Kirwan, then some twenty-two years in the country, was appointed to reside in the district and form a new Chaplaincy. In the same year he took sick while saying Mass, was brought back to Buenos Aires and died at the Merced Church, where he had previously been Parish priest, in the month of October. The department of Suipacha was but a short time established then, and the Committee appointed by the Irish Catholics of Buenos Aires, in '79, "with a view to make better provision for the religious and educational wants of said community" named as delegates to represent the district and collect funds for the Committee therein, L. Kenny and T. Kenny. After the death of Father Kirwan the parish remained for some time without an Irish Chaplain, Father McNerney came to the district in '84 but did not remain long. The Pallotine Fathers have looked after the Chaplaincy since his time.

San Pedro being a river port, at one time of great importance, is one of the old towns of the Province. In the latter Twenties I find a few Irish names amongst those who sought passports to the district, but it was not until about '55 that Irish sheep-farmers reached the place, and then not in large numbers. By the year Sixty, however, a good number of our people had established themselves there and soon purchased large estancias. The first subscriber towards the O'Connell Monument Fund came from this district, in '63. The district was included in Fr. Michael Leahy's Chaplaincy of Carmen de Areco, until the coming of Father Edmund Flannery in 1869.

About twenty miles, westward, in the open camp, in the year 1875, Father Flannery commenced building his church. The place was then the center of a populous Irish district, and lay from fifteen to twenty miles from the nearest church or chapel. Such an edifice was a deeply felt want, indeed,

as the response of those concerned, to the appeal of their pastor, in the matter, proclaims as decisively as it does their generosity and piety. The Church and priest's house were completed and opened to service in 1876. A press report of the inauguration of the new Chapel had this to say: "The chapel and priest's house built by the parishioners of Father Flannery surpass anything of the kind we have seen in this country. The new buildings are situated on very high ground; the steeple of the church is visible at a distance of seven leagues. The worthy pastor deserves the highest praise for his exertions to establish a permanent Irish mission in San Pedro, by building there an Irish Church with a residence for a priest attached. The disinterestedness of Father Flannery is well known to his flock; hence their willingness to assist him. The church is a handsome building with a handsome spire. The priest's residence is a well-built brick house of five rooms. The land was generously given by Mr. John Harrington, who also gave a handsome donation towards the erection of the church, heading the list with \$10,000.m/c. The building cost £2000 sterling; there is yet a deficit of £500 sterling, but it will be paid off. The Irish were well represented at the ceremony. There were the Harringtons, Mooneys, Austins, Kennedys' Doyles, Youngs, McDonnells, Owens, Newmans, Martins, Griffins, Keoghs, Eustaces, Quinns, Flahertys, Walls, Cullens, Kearneys, Roches, Wheelers, Cummins, Riardons, Nallys, Cloughisseys, Cavanaghs, Hogans, Brownes, Daltons, Kennys, Wades, Streets, Caseys, Brennans and a host of others. Wexford, Longford and Westmeath were well represented." The writer should have said that Clare was also well represented. Soon after the opening Father Flannery published the following statement:

"All the neighboring Irish people and many natives have subscribed liberally. The accounts stand thus: Cost of Church, \$261,402; amount subscribed, \$195,846; balance due, \$65,556."

The building is eighty feet long, twenty-six feet wide

and thirty feet in height; it has a tower fifty feet high. Archdeacon Dillon performed the ceremony of consecration.

Arrecifes is within the Chaplaincy of San Pedro. It is an old town and was a stage on the old coach road to the northern and western provinces. Robertson described it in 1811 as like Areco, "a miserable village"; it is now a pretty little town and in the midst of one of the richest districts in the whole province. Its occupation by the Irish is of about the same time as that of Salto and San Pedro; and as in these latter departments the occupation was a permanent one, many of the settlers having purchased fine estancias where they or their children still enjoy the fruits of their wisdom and industry. The parish is pretty well represented on the Fahey Testimonial list of '65, the first general camp list of Irish subscribers I have been able to find. It was forward in the Fenian Prisoners' Fund, as might be expected from a part of Father Leahy's Chaplaincy, and the following subscribed \$3965: Owen Owens, Thomas Dwyer, John O'Brien, Jeremiah O'Brien, Michael O'Farrell, Michael O'Crehan, Paul Quiñones (Argentino), Clement Cutelli (Italiano), C. de S. Morales (Argentino), M. Bird, J. M. Aramburo (Español), M. M. de José Mendez (Argentino), Mrs. Hogan, J. M., Lawrence Scally, Michael Hogan, Charles Geoghegan, Thomas Hogan, John Harrington, Patrick Martin, And. Geoghegan, John Finnegan, John Evans, F. P. O'Connor, Patrick Pitt, Thomas Naughton, Michael Crowley, James Doyle, R. Hayes, Owen Kilmurray, John Wall, James Kehoe, William Greaves, Hugh O'Reilly, John Brennan, Patrick O'Connor, Edward Molloy, Terence Molloy, William Martin, Edward Wall, N. Finnerty, N. Doyle, J. Crowley, John Crowley, M. O'Leary, M. Connery, P. York, D. Murphy, J. Curran, P. Cormic, M. Griffin, W. Hanly, P. Keenan, E. Cleary, J. Lennon, J. Baggot, P. Cullen, J. McDonnell, P. Martin.

In later Irish movements and charities it has been equally well represented, and it is amongst the very first of the Irish centers in celebrating the Irish National Festival in

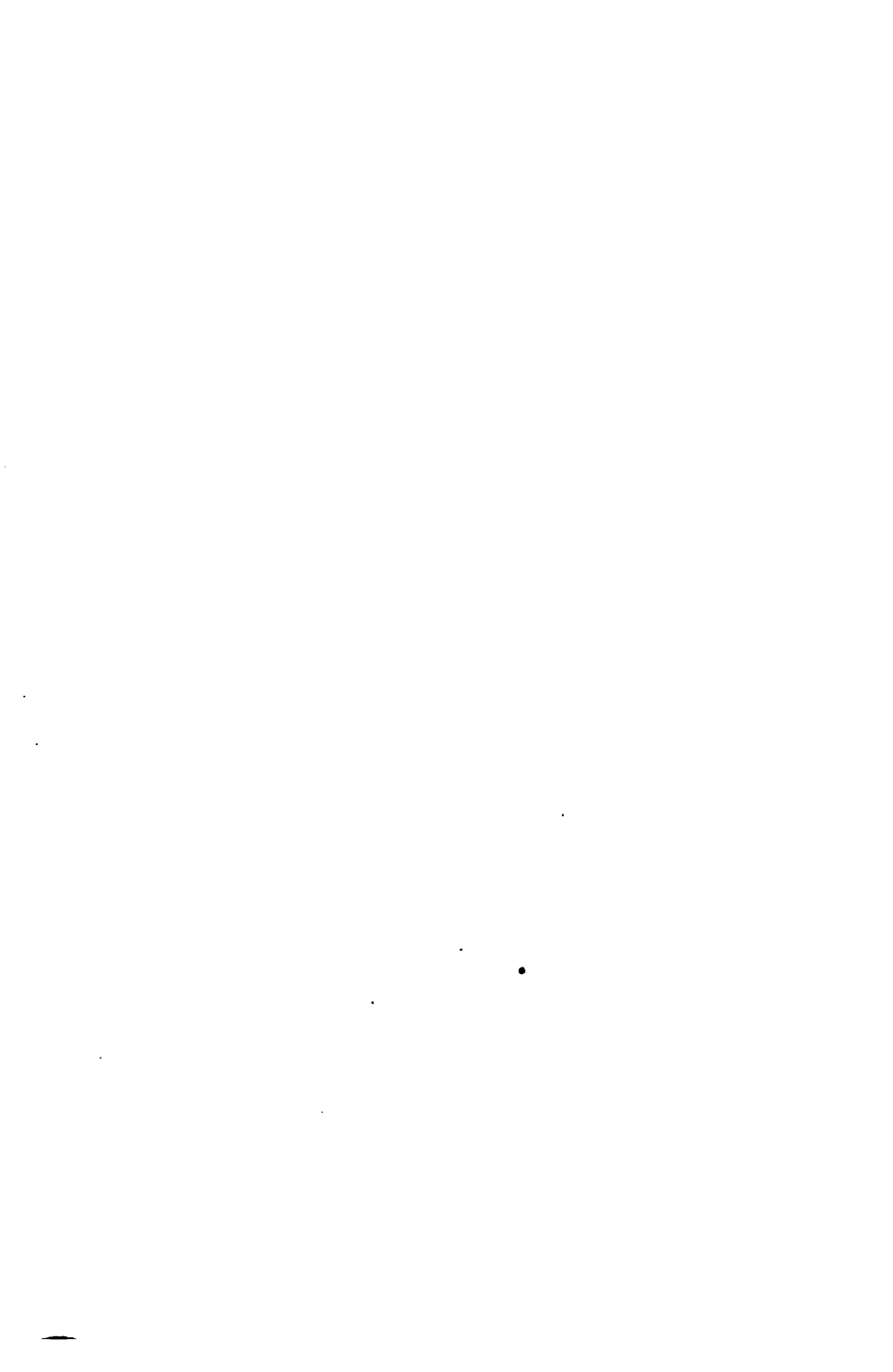
a truly worthy and patriotic manner. There is a fine sturdy and spirited Irish community in the parish.

Civil wars and political broils had so weakened the national authority in the first few years after the deposition of Rosas that in the general encroachment of the Indians even the old and long settled department of Pergamino was raided by the savages in '56 and again in '61. These, however, were the last advances; raids they made afterwards, but only in their quick retreat to fall back further and further desertwards. From Arrecifes and San Pedro the next invasion of Pergamino came, slowly and peacefully, as the shepherd and his flock move, and when Cepeda and Pavon were over, with their varying fortunes, the new order of camp life quickly began to establish itself up to and even beyond the Arroyo del Medio. In '68 the death of Darby Tormey was reported from Pergamino, and it was stated that he was one of the richest Irishmen in the country.

Murders and robberies had been as common in the Arrecifes and Pergamino districts as in any others where our people settled, but as their recounting is a harrowing and weary work, I shall pass them by for the most part. The following, however, from its importance for the good of the neighborhood and because some of our people had to do with it deserves to be recorded. It was the year '74, and many murders of strangers had been lately committed in the district, some of the victims being Irish. A murdering party came to a native cabin; the man of the house was sick; his wife on hearing the dogs give alarm went to investigate the cause; she had not gone far beyond the threshold when one of the band threw a poncho over her head; her screams brought the sick man promptly to her aid with his knife. He fought like a tiger, killing the first man he met and stabbing all around with great effect. The struggle was short, for a revolver bullet was sent through the poor fellow's head. Those who could fled, leaving two corpses at the door of the hut. It happened near Mooney's estancia, to which, later, one of the wounded men came in a dying



FATHER EDMUND FLANNERY
(Recently celebrated his Golden Jubilee, now dean of the Irish Chaplains)



state; he was attended as carefully and kindly as possible, and soon another man in the same condition made his way to the same house. He was also looked after, but both cases were hopeless. Mr. Mooney sent for the authorities; the men confessed their latest crime and much more; so much more as led to the clearing up of the mystery of many a previous crime, and the arrest of the remainder of the band, about twenty in all.

The first Irishman who settled in that district, John Doyle, was killed by soldiers after the famous battle of Cepeda, fought between the Federation forces and those of Buenos Aires, led by Urquiza and Mitre, respectively. The first permanent Irish settlers were William Mooney, John Doyle and A. Winter.

Ramallo and San Nicolas, especially the latter are comparatively small departments. The former was never of very much importance as a settling place of our people. By the time sheep-farming had spread so far north a considerable part of the land of the parish had been taken up for other purposes; notwithstanding this, however, some Irish families settled there and there are some Irish there still. Although the same may be said of San Nicolas, as regards its camps, the city itself became at one time quite an important Irish center, for here the large and prosperous colony of sheep-farmers and estancieros of the Pavon and Arroyo Seco districts used to do most of their marketing and other business. But the opening up of the many new railroads which cross the Pavon country made Rosario a more convenient place for attending to all kinds of affairs, and San Nicolas became less and less a place of interest from the point of view of this work. In 1887 the killing of Michael Crehan, by the police, aroused great indignation amongst the Irish people of the surrounding districts and proceedings were taken to have the accused brought to justice.

San Nicolas is one of the towns mentioned by Robertson in his trip to Paraguay. It had then five or six hundred

inhabitants. Thomas Armstrong, the good and worthy merchant of Buenos Aires, seems to have been the first Irishman to find his way into the district. It was here he got his wife, Miss Villanueva, and with her very large and valuable estates. In San Nicolas the story is still current of Mooney's fight with the Basque. They were both neighbors, but not good friends, as there was some litigation on between them. Flocks belonging to each got mixed and the Basque proposed entering Mooney's flock in the camp and driving out the portion in which animals of his mark were most plentiful; this Mooney refused to permit, but, of course, agreed to have the sheep separated in the usual way in the chiqueros. His neighbor would have his own way whether Mooney liked it or not, and when the latter interfered to prevent him from entering his flock, the Basque lodged three revolver shots in Mooney's body. Kier, for this was the Basque's name, did not know the kind of man he was dealing with, and before he could discharge all his shots he was seized by the throat and lifted bodily off his horse and thrown across the withers of the horse on which the man he was trying to murder was mounted. Mooney took the revolver from his would-be assassin and putting its muzzle against the fellow's breast demonstrated to him how easily he could have full revenge if he wanted to; the Basque begged piteously to be spared his life; Mooney said, yes, he would spare him his life as it was such a one as no man of spirit would debase himself by taking, and galloping his horse to the nearest laguna he threw the would-be murderer in the shallow pool, and proceeded on his way to San Nicolas to have his bullets extracted and his wounds attended to, there are sightly divergent stories of the incident, but the one I give is, in brief, the version I deem most accurate. Mr. Mooney is now an old man, one of the oldest Irish-Argentines living, and his adventures, experiences and deeds of daring, both in this and the neighboring Republic of Uruguay, would, in themselves alone make a volume as

sensational and interesting as any novel or book of adventure I can call to mind.

Mr. Carmody formerly president of the Irish Society was an important contractor of railway-building work, in San Nicolas, in '71, and six years later William Foley was appointed Commissioner of the Port. After the founding of the religious houses of the Salesians, for priests and nuns, with their extensive schools, in San Nicolas, the place was seldom without an Irish priest and Irish or Irish-Argentine nuns. The priests frequently assisted or substituted for a time the Irish chaplains on both sides of the Arroyo del Medio. Fathers Foran, O'Grady and Diamond were well known to, and very popular with, the Irish of that district, and several young Irish-Argentines who have since become Salisian priests entered the Order in San Nicolas. A number, too, of Irish-Argentine girls, who were educated in the Convent schools of the Salisian Sisters, remained to become nuns or joined the Order afterwards. Father Michael Quinn, one of the first Irish-Argentine priests, in the sense of having both father and mother Irish-born, to be ordained in the country, was stationed here from 1896 as Chaplain to one of the Convents. The schools of the Salesians in San Nicolas were greatly patronized by the Irish in the surrounding parishes in the latter decade or so of the 19th century.

CHAPTER XV

IRISH CHAPLAINS

AS may be easily reasoned out all of our people who emigrated to the Plate country did not turn to the arts of war by sea or land, the commerce of the rising, if turbulent, young city, the artizan's well remunerated labors, the heavy toil of the *saladera* and *graceria*, or to the lonely and risky life of the sheep-farmer. Irish professional men, especially of the medical order, were proportionately plentiful from the beginning, and Irish teachers and college professors came early and were very acceptable at all times, even to the present day. When Irish immigration was sought to be stimulated by government endowment in 1822, one of the stipulations made with General O'Brien was, that the emigrants were to be accompanied by a chaplain and a physician to be solely at their disposition and for their use. J. A. Wild, in his book of reminiscences of Buenos Aires, "*Setenta Años Atras,*" says that 200 Irish laborers, so accompanied, did come in 1822, but I believe he took the making of the arrangement with O'Brien for its actual accomplishment. It is recorded that the arrangement fell through for lack of funds at that particular period. But the notion that the Irish should have their own chaplain was an accepted and approved one as far back as then. From the sketch describing Father Fahey's first missionary labors something may be gathered of the life of an Irish Chaplain in the camp districts, and as a considerable number of devoted priests dedicated themselves to this noble and self-sacrificing labor for the last ninety years, some record of how and when and where they labored, who they were and what befell

them, in so far as the resources at my command will permit, will be attempted in this chapter. It has often struck me as strange that some priest has not undertaken this work as a priest's professional knowledge and special opportunities would fit some one of them for it in numberless relations that a layman is not likely to think of, and provide them with materials not so easily in the reach of one like myself. But as such a book as I have set out to write would be hopelessly incomplete without a chapter on the Irish Chaplains, I must attempt its writing with all my unfitness about me, and with the hope to be judged leniently for my shortcomings, as, at least, I mean well and will do the best I can.

That Irish-Catholic priests had to go to Argentina to attend to the spiritual wants of their fellow-countrymen is not to be taken as indicating a scarcity of priests and churches in the districts wherein the Irish usually settled, or any unwillingness on the part of the resident clergy to render every service possible to the foreigners amongst their congregations. The situation arose from a quite different and very simple cause—the language. The resident clergy, mostly native of the country or Spanish born, of course, spoke only the Spanish tongue; our countrymen, generally men of limited education, and past the years, even if the time or opportunity available allowed, when people easily acquire a new language, knew only English or Irish, and confessions, prayers and other religious duties and exercises were quite impossible to them in the language of the country, at least in a satisfactory manner. Hence the need of clergymen who understood not alone their words but their ways, and whom they could understand and regard as wholly of themselves, interested in all their joys and sorrows, trustful and helpful as their counsellor and guide, their reliable friend in every difficulty, whether of this or the next world. Such, in brief, is the explanation of a number of Catholic priests officiating in a Catholic country quite apart from the local clergy, and with regulations and

privileges for their special convenience, granted by the local Church authorities, and which make them seem almost independent of these authorities.

As shown some chapters back there had been, before Father Fahey's coming, some three or four Irish priests who attended their countrymen, in Buenos Aires, but seldom went beyond the city. Two of these, Fathers Moran and O'Gorman had come at the direct solicitation of the Irish colony in Buenos Aires. Father Burke, a Dominican, who first filled the post of Irish Chaplain, came to Buenos Aires in obedience to the arrangements of his Order, possibly for the purpose of meeting the needs of the hundreds of Irish Catholics then in the city; I only offer this as a conjecture. The other two, Fathers McCartan and Gannon, were not Irish chaplains in the sense that we ordinarily understand, and they are dealt with in other chapters.

With the influx of Irish immigrants after the Famine, and the establishment of the Irish Convent with its dependent institutions, Father Fahey's duties became so augmented within the city itself, that the ever-widening extent of the rural districts into which the Irish had spread would have to be left wholly or in very great part unattended to unless a number of Irish priests could be found to follow this ever-shifting and spreading current of colonizers. He consequently made due and urgent application for the number of missionary priests needed to meet the new demand. In 1856 Father Cullen came with the Sisters of Mercy, soon after Fathers Kirwan and Smith, and in a short time young priests from the Missionary College of All Hallows, Dublin, began to come, and from then on there has been no real shortage of chaplains. Father Fahey always kept the newly arrived missionaries for some time in his own house, and under his own careful direction and advice before sending them to the district wherein their ministrations were then most needed.

The new pastor after that had mostly to shift for himself, and make the best of his surroundings. The "parish"

allotted to him, especially in the districts newly settled by his countrymen, had generally no accurately defined boundaries, but was usually measured from the mearing of the chaplaincy nearest to him on the inside outward as far as the Irish sheep-farmers had ventured. When this district became more thickly settled, and the settlers felt that they needed more frequent and regularly arranged visits from the Chaplain, and that they were sufficiently numerous to maintain another clergyman, the district was divided and a new chaplaincy formed. Sometimes a chaplaincy would be only co-extensive with one or perhaps two of the parishes or departments established by the Church organization of the country; at other times it would be much more extensive, and even an area larger than a couple of counties of Ireland would be covered by it. This part of the arrangement, of course, depended on the number of the faithful to be looked after. Some of what were in the early days important Irish centers with the passing of the years became, by reason of the changes in the values of land, abandoned by the sheep-farmers, and only the few who had good luck or good sense enough to purchase land in the days when it was cheap remained. So, many of the old chaplaincies have long since ceased to exist, their incumbents moving to the new settlements or retiring from active service. The chaplain as a rule took up his residence in the town or village nearest to the center of his "parish"; very soon his flock provided him with a house, horses, saddle and all the other necessaries of his office, or with the requisite funds to purchase these. Whatever the labors and difficulties of his mission might be, and however careless individual ones of his parishioners might be in their observance of some of the commandments, he had never any reason to complain of their manner of complying with the fifth precept of the Church.

The work of a chaplain in the old days was exceedingly trying. His flock was often scattered over two or three hundred square leagues of country. There are some cases

well known where the area was of much larger extent, and it sometimes took the priest a couple of weeks to attend a sick call. A district, however, the limits of which were ten or fifteen leagues apart was more the order of Father Fahey's latter years and ever since. The Chaplain said Mass at a stated hour on a certain Sunday each month in the Parish Church, hearing confessions on the morning of that day in the same church. On the other Sundays of the month he went to the other churches within his district, if such there were, and did likewise. If churches were not located in convenient reach of large numbers of his people he arranged to have stations on regular occasions at the principal houses, native or Irish, where there were many of his people employed. The first such Mass which I attended was celebrated at an old-fashioned estancia in the parish of Carmen de Areco, called the "Azotea" (flat-roofed), and was the property of Don Juan Dowling, whose beautiful residence was close by. The congregation was a very diversified one, and its gathering around the low, flat-roofed building on the wide plains many miles from the nearest town or village, delightfully picturesque. When I tell how that congregation was made up, the manner of its mobilizing and other small details which occur to me now, more than twenty years after, it will be possible to form some sort of an idea of what an old-fashioned camp-congregation looked like.

The season was early Spring; not an acre of land so far as the eye could reach over the rich plains had ever yet been touched with a plough, all was clothed in the soft green that followed a generous drenching of very timely rains. The sauce, or weeping willow, loaded with its surpassing wealth of foliage was, like the Indian tree of Moore's touching verses:

Bending its arms downward again to that dear earth
From which the life that fills and warms its grateful being first
had birth.

The sena-sena hedges that surrounded the little enclosure in which the "Azotea" nestled were full in their thorny bloom, with their pale green leaves and yellow catkins; tall hemlock, *secuta*, with its peculiar fragrance was shooting up rankly and plentifully within the enclosure; the kindly paradise-tree was shedding its sweet-scented blossom, and the solemn eucalyptus, dark and proud, with its ragged and twisted trunk, stood sentinel above all.

Some of the congregation had already arrived, as could be seen by the number of saddled horses that stood tethered to the line of wire paling that ran outside the hedge, others were approaching in the near distance, while farther away, in whatever direction one looked, the cantering steed was bearing its master or mistress gaily to the sacred tryst. The assembly numbered somewhat less than two hundred, and were gathered from a radius of a couple or three leagues. Two-thirds of those present were born in Westmeath and Longford or were the children of parents born there; the greater part of the remaining third being of Wexford birth or extraction. Women and youngsters made up about half the gathering. All the older men wore beards, some wild and shaggy, some trimmed and reduced, probably with the wool-shears, whilst the young men generally cultivated no further facial adornments than the commonplace, but almost always becoming mustachio. The elder and more fully developed men were for the most part remarkably large, rugged, sturdy, intelligent farmers, bearing, I thought, a striking resemblance to the pictures I used to see of the Boers of South Africa. The young men were tall, well-formed, usually rather spare of flesh and dressed quite picturesquely and very sensibly. The shining top-boots, the wide loose pantaloons, the short jacket, nicely knotted silk neckerchief and the Chambergo hat, with its characteristic poise, made them always appear to me as ideally dressed for men in their line of life, and in the climate to which they belonged. The most remarkable thing about the women was that, although nearly all Irish

born, the elder portion of them, at least, they rode a-horseback with such ease and security. What I have said of the young men I may say of their sisters, whether as to stature or to dress. One pretty custom which the women have, whether in town or country, which I cannot help mentioning here, is that they never approach the Communion rail wearing a hat, but rather with a dark veil thrown loosely over their head.

The assembly, after Mass was over, and just as it was about to disperse, was a subject for a painter, and Rosa Bonheur could have found more color and life and natural diversity in the scene than any of the subjects her gifted brush has made famous. Vehicles of any kind but the cart of all work, with its enormous wheels, seven or eight feet high, were very scarce at that time in the camp. A couple of open brakes, a tilbury and one or two covered coaches, all of American manufacture, were the only means of transit, apart from the saddle-horse, availed of by the gathering. Nobody came afoot. The horses were of a race now nearly extinct, save in remote districts of the country, they were all of the criollo strain, or old native breed—an animal, campmen hold, much more suited to the needs of the day than would be the prettier shaped ones of foreign blood that have replaced them. In color they were as diversified and fantastic as the most varied herd of horn-cattle could be. And in the beautiful, fresh spring day, with brightness and young life on almost everything in sight they made a picture, to an unaccustomed eye, as they pranced and cantered away with their happy riders, long to be remembered with wonder and delight. The priest was one of the Passionists, a Tipperaryman, Father Cyprian. He had come some seven or eight leagues, from Salto, the evening before, heard confessions all the morning, preached after Mass and returned home in the evening. He, however, made the trip to and fro in a coach, whereas in the earlier times all such journeys had to be made on horseback, and even still in rainy weather, when the roads are in many cases

impassable to any kind of a drive, the Chaplain has often to trust to his steed to get to where his duties call him.

But the Sunday Mass was never the matter of most hardship and difficulty in the duties of the Chaplain, for in that case he could take, to some extent, his measures in accordance with distance and conditions of the weather. With sick calls it was a different matter, there was but one measure to be adopted, and that one stood for all distances and weather conditions—get out and attend them on the spot. Often times the stricken person lay as far as ten or even twenty leagues away, and not infrequently this journey had to be made, perhaps, for the most part at night. Roads, even at the present time, after a few days' rain can hardly be said to exist, as such, and yet for the last forty years a great deal has been done in the way of making and repairing them,¹ what then must they have been when in many cases their very course was scarcely known to any except special guides? In those days the rivers had very few or no bridges in the remote camps, and usually had to be forded wherever opportunity best offered. In times of flood the water at those fording places rose above the rider's knees and not at all rarely the horse had to make the crossing as much by swimming as by wading. After 1860 the chaplains who came to the country were mostly young men fresh from the seminary and who had undergone a course of training specially designed for priests going on missionary work abroad. They were usually very zealous men who spared themselves in nothing that was for the good, spiritual and temporal, of their charge. Few of them lived to be old men, and many of

¹ A few years ago I remember living in a little town within five leagues of the Capital, and through which two lines of railway passed. One of these was wholly interrupted and the other partially so by an unusually long continued rainfall. The baker, butcher and milkman had to deliver their goods on horseback owing to the impassable state of the roads and the streets of the town. This will give an idea, to those unacquainted with Argentina, what our roads are like in rainy winter weather.

them, like Father Fahey, himself, fell martyrs, one might say, to the great cause to which they had dedicated themselves. In the proper place their names will be given with some account of their lives in so far as I have been able to learn authoritatively about them. The foregoing with the realistic sketch copied from Bulfin's essay describing Father Fahey's itinerary among his scattered flock will give the reader a means of forming a fairly correct idea of what the life of the Irish Chaplain was in the days when an order of things prevailed that have passed forever out of Argentine life.

The present and three previous Archbishops of Buenos Aires have always taken the warmest and most kindly interest in the Irish, and have never failed to assist them in providing chaplains and teachers in every way in their power, and to confer very special honors and privileges on the Irish priests. I believe the Irish Chaplains are the only priests in the country that have been allowed to dress in any other than the prescribed ecclesiastical garb. The fact that so much of their journeyings had to be done on horseback made the use of the long soutane and broad-leafed flat hat a great inconvenience, so the authorities readily dispensed with the dress formalities in their case and allowed them to use a garb that is much more to their convenience.

As I have given a list of Directors and Governors of the nation from its founding as an independent entity, for handy reference, I shall follow a somewhat similar course in regard to the Irish Chaplains and priests who devoted themselves in any way to our people here. I cannot say for certain that I have been able to secure the names of all the clergyman who served in this order, but if any have escaped my search in this direction their term in such labor must have been short and little noticed.

Father Burke, a priest of the Dominican Order, attended to the Irish people in Buenos Aires up to 1828, when he died at an advanced age.

Father Patrick Moran, first Irish Chaplain sent to the country, arrived February, 1829, died in May 1830.

Father Patrick J. O'Gorman, arrived October, 1831, died March 3, 1847, buried in the vault of the clergy, Recoleta.

Father Michael M'Cartan came to Buenos Aires, on his own account, in 1835; is noted in the "Guia de Forasteros" for 1837, as one of the two Irish Chaplains; officiated in San Roque. Left Buenos Aires soon after this date, returned in the early sixties, died here in 1876.

Father Michael Gannon officiated in Buenos Aires in 1843. Went north after about four years, when last heard of, 1850, was Parish Priest of Bellavista, Corrientes.

Father Anthony D. Fahey arrived in Buenos Aires, January 17, St. Anthony's Day, 1844; died February 20, 1871. Father Cullen wrote in '89 that Bishop Kinsela of Ossory, at the request of Archbishop Murray, selected Father Fahey from the Black Abbey of Kilkenny for the mission to Argentina. Born at Loughrea, Galway, 1804.

Father John Cullen, native of Dublin, Father Fahey's first assistant, came out with the Sisters of Mercy in 1856. He wrote more than thirty years afterwards: "My first mission was to the 'camp' as the open land country is termed. I went through all the parishes north and south, eighty leagues in length. This was a work of three months' duration. I then settled down at Capilla del Señor with charge of the Irish in eight parishes. I was constantly on horseback on circuit. In those days there were no railways." Father Cullen, who was an order priest, returned in 1868 to his monastery in Haverford West, England, and died in Dublin, May, 1891, 77 years of age.

Father Lawrence Kirwan was ordained in Montevideo and came over from there early in 1857. Almost immediately on his arrival here Father Fahey sent him to minister to the Irish Catholics in the Malvina islands, from which place he returned in April of the same year; was Chaplain in various districts and died October 12, 1879.

Father Patrick Donovan, like Father Kirwan, came over from Montevideo in 1857. He was a brother of Dr. Cornelius Donovan of the first Irish Hospital. Ordained in Paris; was Irish Chaplain in Magdalena and Chascomus; a native of Cork; died in Buenos Aires, May 5, 1868.

Father Henry Smith came in 1859, died in Lobos, May 8, 1865.

Father Thomas Carolan, North of Irelandman; came in 1860; was Chaplain in Lujan; returned to Ireland in 1868.

Father Patrick J. Dillon, native of Ballyhaunis, Mayo; ordained priest at the age of twenty-one, for Argentine mission; arrived in Buenos Aires in 1863. Was a man of great brilliancy, energy and tact in handling affairs; won many distinctions in lay as well as clerical life; was an orator of exceptional power; on the whole a good Irishman, but somewhat erratic. Died in Dublin, of heart disease, June, 1889, at the age of 47 years.

Father M. A. Connolly was Chaplain of Chascomus and district at the beginning of 1864, but I have not been able to find the exact date of his coming or retiring. He built the first Irish Chapel in Argentina.

Father Michael L. Leahy came in '63, and in March, '64, was appointed Chaplain of Carmen de Areco, Salto, Chacabuco, San Pedro, Arrecifes, Rojas and as far north and west as there were any Irish to look after. Native of Kerry, was delicate, and from overwork developed consumption; went to Mendoza in 1884 to recover his health and died there, June 1, same year. Nine years after his body was brought back and buried in the Parish Church of Carmen de Areco. Age, 42 years.

Father William Grennon, native of Kings Co., came also in 1863, died in Capilla del Señor, first days of January, '88.

Father Edward Cavanagh seems to have come to Buenos Aires about the year 1865; died in Bragado, February, 1880. Served as Chaplain in Buenos Aires and many of the camp districts.

Father Callaghan came from Dublin about the same time as the last named, but does not seem to have remained long in the country.

Father James J. Curran came in 1862; died in Navarro in 1881, March 2. Was a native of Co. Meath, and 46 years of age when he died. On his arrival in Buenos Aires he spent some time with Father Kirwan in charge of Father Fahey's college where is now the San Salvador. The people of Navarro erected a costly altar to his memory in 1882.

Father William M. Walsh, native of Navan, came to Buenos Aires a Franciscan student, was ordained December, 1866. Served as Irish Chaplain, within his Order, in Buenos Aires and assisted occasionally in some of the camp districts; was ordered home in 1873; subsequently was sent on the mission to Australia.

Father Patrick Lynch, ordained in Dublin, All Hallows, in '67 by Bishop Moriarty, with Fathers O'Reilly and Mullady, for the Argentine mission; was appointed on his arrival, same year, to be Chaplain in Mercedes, Chivilcoy and Suipacha. After a long illness died in Mercedes, May 15, '80; was a native of Co. Longford.

Father Thomas Mullady, native of Westmeath, came in '67; Irish Chaplain of San Antonio de Areco, Giles and Baradero for some thirty years; retired to Ireland in 1903; died a few years ago in Moate.

Father Samuel O'Reilly, born in Longford, college comrade of the two previous, was Chaplain of Lujan, Mercedes and Chivilcoy successively; died in the latter named place a few months ago, with nearly fifty years' service to his credit. Monseñor O'Reilly was a very simple-living man; was all his life a generous giver to every charity, Irish and Argentine, yet amassed considerable wealth which he left at his death, principally, to Irish charities and religious communities. He was a ready writer and never feared to face anyone in the press who said aught that was ill or unfair of his country; an unassuming but very good Irishman.

Father John B. Leahy, ordained All Hallows, '69; came to Argentina immediately after; for a while assisted his brother, M. L., in the Chaplaincy of Carmen de Areco; succeeded Father Fahey as city Chaplain; always in poor health he was unable to continue the duties of the city district; tried various changes of air; went home in '82 and on the voyage from Spain to Ireland died, July, 1882; buried at sea.

Father Edmund Flannery, college, ordination and date of coming as the last named; native of Cork; appointed Chaplain of San Pedro, Ramallo, Arrecifes, Pergamino, San Nicolas and the Santa Fé country wherever he was needed; still on active service, and the Dean of Irish Chaplains.

Father John Joseph Curley (Mgr.), came from Rome in '72, was appointed Chaplain of Chascomus and the southern parishes; succeeded Father Curran in Navarro where he died.

Father J. P. Gormley, Irish born, nephew of Mgr. Curley, was ordained in Buenos Aires, December, '80; died of small pox in May, 1882.

Father John Davis, Englishman, came in 1869; gave Missions in Buenos Aires and Montevideo; Chaplain for some time in Capilla del Señor, later in Lobos; died in Buenos Aires, March, 1888.

Father Anthony McNamara was a widower when he returned to Ireland from Buenos Aires, studied and became a priest; came back in '72, opened a college in Mercedes; assisted the Irish Chaplains of his district; later removed to Brazil.

Father John Purcell, Irish born, was ordained in Buenos Aires, March 1879; Chaplain in Chascomus and Capilla del Señor; died in the latter named place.

Father John M. Sheehy, came to Rosario in 1888; has been Irish Chaplain of Santa Fé ever since; native of County Cork.

Father Richard E. Gearty came to Rosario in 1895;

assisted Father Sheehy for some time; returned to Ireland following year; succeeded Father Mullady in San Antonio de Areco where he is still Irish Chaplain; native of County Roscommon.

Father Black was an Irish sheepfarmer on the southern camps when he felt that his call was to the priesthood; sold his flock, went home and in due time was ordained; went to Australia, did not get on well there, returned home, got connected with the Dresden enterprise and came to Buenos Aires as Chaplain to the immigrants. After the failure of the Napostá colony, remained in Buenos Aires, fell into bad health and died in great poverty, June, 1899; was buried from the Balvanera church by the Cura of that parish, who had been for long his only friend. Seems to have not been of entirely sound mind.

Father P. J. Brady had been a Passionist but withdrew from the Order and became Irish Chaplain of Chascomus and all the southern district; he fell into bad health and retired after a few years.

Father Joseph Geoghegan, Irish-Argentine, ordained in Ireland, served as Chaplain in Mercedes for some time; succeeded Father Brady in Chascomus and district; died a couple of years ago in Pergamino.

There were other Irish priests who, though not Chaplains in the sense this chapter recognizes, bore a part in attending to the spiritual wants of our people. One of these was Father Burke of the Dominican Order. By the way, the Burkes seem to have a special fondness for that Order, our first Irish Chaplain, as stated, was a Dominican Burke, and who has not heard of the great Father Tom? The present Father Burke was active in the early seventies, and in '79 was Prior in Buenos Aires and took part freely in Irish affairs; died in San Juan, October, 1882.

There was a Father McNerney in Suipacha in the middle Eighties, but did not remain very long. In recent years, apart from the Passionist Fathers, who do most of the Irish Chaplain labor now, there are many Irish and

Irish-Argentine priests in the Palatine, Salesian, Franciscan and other Orders as well as amongst the secular clergy, who attend to their people whenever called upon. The Irish Chaplains at present in the country, solely as such, are Fathers Flannery, Sheehy, Gearty and O'Grady. Father Patrick O'Grady, Irish Chaplain of Capilla del Señor, although not very many years in this charge, is the oldest Irish priest in active service, he being now in his eighty-fifth year; a native of Limerick he was for some years head of the Palatine Order in this country. Father Henry Gray, Lazarist, at present in Lujan, has spent some forty years in the country, has always been at the call of his people and aided the Irish Chaplains in missionary and other labors.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CAMP SCHOOLMASTER AND NE'ER-DO-WELL

THE Irish settlers for the first couple of generations or more had some queer ideas as to the bringing up of their children. One of the things they were usually most anxious to do effectually in that direction was to prevent their children from learning the language and ways of the country in which these children had to live. Their intentions were good, but the result decidedly to the disadvantage of the children and, consequently, to the Irish-Argentine colony. The poor native in those days was a rather lawless and unlovely character, while rich and poor alike in the country districts were, in the eyes of the Irish settlers, shamefully immoral, in the sexual sense. The Irish father and mother were, therefore, quite satisfied that the less intercourse their boys or girls had with such neighbors the better it would be for them. Whatever good fruit this exclusiveness bore, and I am sure it bore much, one of its effects was that one could in times gone by often meet Irish-Argentine men and women who had scarcely sufficient use of the language of their country to buy the clothes they needed to wear or to sell the products of their labor. Many comical stories springing from this strange notion of the settlers are current among the people still. One story from the Carmen de Areco district will here serve the double purpose of showing the truth of what I have just stated as to the inability of some to speak their native language, and that such inability was not always an unmixed evil. Back in the Sixties, long before conscription was put regularly in force, a young Irish-Argentine was arrested for not duly presenting himself for registry in the National Guard, or

State Militia. An Irishman of influence in the district and who, I believe, was a Justice of the Peace, interested himself in behalf of the young Portefío. He saw no way out of the difficulty but to have the young man say that he was born in Ireland and was not long in the country. In a land where the rural order of occupation with most of the people was nomadic few families remained long in the same district; so, as there was no evidence at hand as to the birth-place of the young man, the J. P. proposed to the military man to question the accused thoroughly on the matter and decide for himself, from the manner in which he spoke the national tongue, as to whether he was native or foreign-born. The officer thought, under the circumstances, that it was a fair manner of test and set to work. The questioned, knowing little or nothing what the catechizing was about, answered with great frankness, but in phrases mostly unintelligible and in a pronunciation all his own. The expression of sternness on the commandant's face soon began to change to one of pity mixed with contempt, and turning to the sergeant who had brought in the prisoner, with a sarcasm that must have bitten the poor man very deeply, delivered judgment thus: "Go on you fool, did you not have intelligence enough to know that this was only a poor gringo?" The story is also told of an Irishman who hearing his eldest son repeat some Spanish phrase, learned that day in the sheep-pen from the peons who were working in the flock, threatened the boy that if he ever heard him speak a word of Spanish again, unless when he had to, that he would send him off to the school in Buenos Aires—a boys' school had then just been started. Many such tales could be repeated, but it was by no means because parents did not understand the great need there was for educating their children that this strange feeling prevailed. Far from it; there were hardly any people in the world who made greater sacrifices to have their children taught, in what they conceived to be the best and safest way. And it was the universal desire to have them instructed thus that was mostly

responsible for the peculiar order of individuals which this chapter proposes to treat of.

Who the first camp schoolmaster was, when he existed and where he operated, I do not propose to decide, for certain. It is known, however, for McCann mentions the fact, that Mr. Handy, on the banks of the Salado, in the district of Chascomus, had one in his employ in the year 1842. But there may have been, possibly, some earlier practitioners than this "bit of a philomath," as Darby the Blast called himself, who "taught his little school" at Mr. Handy's estancia. McCann does not say how long he had then been there but as Handy had "a fine family" and was already quite rich, it is likely the camp tutor was not then an entirely new institution. 1835 would be about as early as there could have been any need for a family teacher amongst our people in the camp, so I will take Mr. Handy's trainer of "the tender soul" as the first of his genus that I know of on all the wide plains of the Plate. As the rise of families went on the number of teachers naturally increased until by the year Sixty they were as much a feature of our system of colonization as was the chaplain, almost. But only as a feature of the system could there be any relationship established between the master and the clergyman. The great majority of the teachers in the early times were in many ways the most unfit men imaginable to entrust the instruction and education of children to. They were, as a rule, men whom we would to-day describe as "undesirable citizens," failures at everything else they had tried. They were mostly men of poor or scarcely any education; deserters from English or American ships, outcasts from commercial or professional callings, because of their weakness for strong drinks, or once in a while a ne'er-do-well who taught for a few months here and a few months there merely as resting spots on the vagrant course of life he had marked out for himself. Such were the camp schoolmasters, *in general*. But the order was never without some very worthy men. Conscientious, well educated, highly

moral men, some of whom became wealthy estancieros and men of prominence in other walks of life. I may name, as one amongst the latter class, the late Michael Dineen, for many years editor and proprietor of the Southern Cross. I have often heard it said, by men competent to judge, that Dineen was, by far, the most learned man of his race in Argentina, in his time. In later years a very superior class of men have devoted themselves to this line of business and it is quite a rare thing now to meet with one of the old-fashioned type of schoolmasters. My purpose in these pages is to preserve something of the memory of the old order, now almost vanished—the historic “Camp Schoolmaster.” This sketch, therefore, while seeking to deal with an interesting phase in the life of our early settlers will, from this on, be mostly devoted to the works and ways of what I may call the conspicuously unfit of the tutor order of the olden time, and items pertaining thereto.

The schoolmaster, if a fairly young man was expected to take a hand in all the work of his employer, and, more or less, to teach when there was nothing else to be done. If too old, or for some other reason too infirm for the harder work of the chiquero he was expected, at least, to be able to assist in the lighter work of the dipping (curing), dagging, marking and shearing of the flocks. The good woman of the house, too, at times when the former operations were not in season could always find him little jobs around the home to occupy his idle moments before and after class hours. He was expected to have a quite thorough knowledge of carpentry, ordinary painting, shoe-making, gardening, house-repairing, such as making floors, patching broken walls and mending leaking roofs. These things, of course, were never mentioned as a part of the educator's duties when the employment arrangements were being entered into, and scarcely any of them was ever performed, notwithstanding the kind mistress's persevering and most diplomatic insinuations, entreaties and suggestions. In this connection all the well-meaning mothers had a saintly

injunction of Father Fahey's which they never neglected to keep before the wayward minds of the teachers; and it was to the effect, that when a man has nothing to do in the camp it would be better for him to dig holes in the ground and fill them up again than remain any length of time idle, for so occupied the devil has no opportunity to fill a man's mind with bad thoughts. A new hand might for some weeks show symptoms of a willingness to meet some of the requirements of his employeress, but the symptoms usually began to wilt and wane soon after the extensiveness of his extra duties unfolded themselves before him, and by the time he received his first month's pay he was generally in full disagreement with Father Fahey's reported principle and the moral and industrial philosophy of his mistress. After that auspicious date the whole routine of his labors usually suffered some modifications. He visited the nearest pulperia, or shebeen, and remained there for a couple of days; sometimes longer, oftentimes as long as his money lasted. His return to his employer's home was usually made between the hours of midnight and the first dawn. Thus the youngsters were saved the scandal of seeing their teacher in a condition of lapse from the ways of moral dignity and rectitude. He was unwell next day and did not call his class together until afternoon. How-much-so-ever he might dislike the varied recreations and exercises the lady of the house was always ready to provide for him, he seldom or never objected to taking a hand with the men in the sheep-pens, for the labor although hard was only for a few hours in the morning, and the gossip and jokes of the neighbors, who habitually gathered to lend a hand in the work, were much more to his taste than the kind of relaxations his well-meaning and economical mistress would like to provide him with. The teacher generally enjoyed about the same salary as the man of all work around the farmstead, had his place at the family board, and shared the school-room with some of his elder male pupils as dormitory. He had a horse and riding gear of his own,

a few traps, in the way of spare clothing, and perhaps a few books treating of nothing in particular. He taught his pupils how to read and write and "do sums"; these men were mostly good at spelling, sufficiently well acquainted with grammar to know that there were nine parts of speech, were often capable of strikingly beautiful handwriting, and could find their way through puzzling mazes of arithmetic well enough to be able to keep a safe distance ahead of their most advanced pupil. One of the chief difficulties for the parents in this system of education was the religious instruction. Catechism and prayers had to be taught, in fact were of first importance all the time. Both father and mother in almost all cases were well and carefully grounded in these particulars, but had little time and less capacity for giving religious instruction, and the teacher, especially those of English or North American nationality, when not Protestant were certain to be agnostic or atheistic. As teachers, of course, they never hesitated to instruct the children in the catechism and teach them the prayers they found therein; some of these teachers became Catholics, and even practical and pious ones. But for all that there were oftentimes grave suspicions and fears as the following story, told me long ago by an old Kilbegganman, will illustrate. A certain Ballinacarrigaman lived alone in a shepherd's hut far out on the broad plains; he was a deeply religious man of simple but very unbending faith; Free Masons, atheists and the Old Boy himself were all about one and the same to him. One evening late a North American who followed the teaching profession rode up to the hut on a very sorry looking mount. The stranger, after the hospitable ways of the country, was invited to dismount and stay for the night. But just then it dawned on the host that he had seen and heard of his guest before. Supper was provided and as the traveler set to appeasing his appetite, the host set to thinking out a plan whereby he would be able to ease his mind on a matter that had begun to trouble him just as soon as he had recognized his guest as a certain school-

master he had once heard discussing religion in a Baradero pulperia, just after he had arrived in the country. It would go very hard on him to put any man out of his house after night had fallen, and that too so far from any human habitation, but hard or no hard, unless his visitor had changed his views on religion since their previous meeting they could not both sleep under that roof that night. He was lying on his catre, smoking his pipe and watching the American as he helped himself in the dim light of the thick, soft tallow-candle.

This was how he commenced to put into execution his plan for the discovery of the guest's present state of mind on religious matters: "What trade do you follow, Mister, is it any harm to ask you?"

"By no means, my friend, is it of any inconvenience to me to inform you on a matter of such insignificancy. I pursue no trade, in the proper sense of the word."

"Ay, but proper or improper, sure you must do something for a living, and you don't seem to be an estanciero, nor a puestero of anyone's?"

"You have judged rightly, good friend, I have never been so fortunate as to have risen to either grades on our social scale; for a living—an existence—I have been teaching the rudiments to the families of some of your worthy countrymen in various parts of this vast country."

"Teaching what?"

"Well, the primary elements of education."

"Ah, then, you're a schoolmaster?"

"So I am called."

"Then, you must be a man of great learning and ought to know nearly everything?"

"One of the things on which nearly all of the really learned men of the world are agreed is that man knows but few things for certain, and these few of small moment compared with the things he knows not of."

"Ah, I see; I see! Well now here's a thing that it's not very hard to know and"—turning his feet out of the catre

and rising to a sitting posture—"let me see if you have it. Who—made—the—world?"

"Who made the world?"

"Yes, just, who made the world?"

"That incomprehensible Will—that Power invisible save to the eye of inspired faith—that Hand at Whose touch the countless millions of worlds——"

"That'll do now—that'll do! I suspected, me boyo, from the beginning what you were. Out with you, out of here now—devil a night ever you'll sleep under my roof; and so that you may know better the next time, *God made the world!*—and if you learned a little of the catechism when you were getting off all your grand rhetoric you'd be a better man, so, go on now with yourself."

That was one type—the American. An Englishman who was of a very morose and unlovable temperament was teaching in a house where there was a very large family of somewhat young children, and although he was a strong, healthy man, he would never give a hand in the sheep-pens where all the rest of the family, husband, wife and children used at times to be hard at work in the cold mornings of winter. It was noticed, though, that he was always out of bed very nimbly at the first sound of the table's being set for coffee. The weather was very cold and as for some days there was no work to be done with the flock the family slept a little late, but one of the boys who knew the master's weakness for hot coffee got out of bed and with cups and saucers made a rattling on the dining-room table as if coffee was just about to be served. The good man of the birch and scowl stepped into the dining room very lightly and rubbing one hand in the other, but found the table bare and no stir in the whole concern. Not a word was uttered, his horse was got in readiness, and before any of the family, except the apt pupil of the cup-and-saucer trick, got on foot he had left some leagues of camp between him and his late employer. The boy, for good reasons, kept his own counsels, and the mysterious flight of the

teacher was by all attributed to some mental derangement or some unearthly influence, until his denunciation, from his new location, many leagues away, of the felonious and irreverent conduct of his last employer echoed faintly over the intervening "partidos."

Here is another tale which I submit as exemplifying another type of this fraternity. The hero in the present case spent his youth around where "Shruel's silent graveyard looks across the Inny's breast," as Leo wrote. It was Christmastime and he was on what in Ireland we would call the "Shoughraun"; he was knocking about with a view to falling in with someone who wanted, or who knew someone who wanted, a teacher. At a house where he called up some members of another family had called on a friendly visit. In the calling family was a boy with a certain amount of grammatical knowledge, and not a little pluck, for a country youngster. The man on the shoughraun, as was natural for one in his position, was anxious to impress the company with a thorough comprehension of his capability and high standing as a teacher. To this end he felt that nothing could be more effective than a rehearsal of the names of some of those whose families he had brought the light of learning to, and so he held forth in this wise: "It was me that taiched Mr. So-and-So's family, an' I taiched for two years at such-and-such an estancia," etc., in this order until the boy with the unexpected turn for grammatical propriety sought to tranquillize his aroused curiosity by remarking: "I thought that word should be 'taught' instead of 'teached?'" The master in very nettled tones retorted: "How dare a pup of your years presume to correct a man of my beard?" The "pup" is now a well-known Irish-Argentine priest.

But these stories are all of long ago, here is one of quite recent times. I had, myself, the pleasure of knowing the master in this little episode. He was a very traveled man, a great bore when sober, a somewhat pleasant fellow with a little drink in, but utterly intolerable when he had

taken over much of the "appetizer," as he used to call his favorite beverage. He knew enough to be a very good teacher; at the time I write of he was in the employ of an Irish-Argentine family, and had steered what might be called a midway course for a good while. One day he returned from the pulperia after a rather prolonged absence from the class-room. The mother of his pupils feeling that she was under some obligation to express her displeasure for the example he was setting those he was expected to be guide and model to, told him that any further deviation from the straight onward and upward line would mean a separation between him and his class. The man of letters felt this a gross infringement of his rights and privileges as a free man in a free country, and an indignity to his person and profession for which neither explanation nor apology could be accepted. He went to his room, which was also his school-hall, and collecting his belongings into a small bundle, he gathered bed, bedding and other belongings of the school, carried them forth, dropped them down some fifteen or twenty meters into the well close by, picked up his bundle and proceeded on his way in search of occupation in some place where the dignity of his person and profession would be held in higher consideration.

These few tales somewhat illustrative of the character and capability of the great majority of the men who taught most of the Irish-Argentine families, at least in their young days, up to very near the end of the last century, are chosen almost at random from stories innumerable which can be heard related in all the departments, and which if collected would make a droll and not uninteresting volume. Colleges, where English is taught, are now plentiful, and where families still follow the old custom of employing a private teacher they are careful to select one of high moral character and assured capability. In the olden time this could not be done and the parents had no resource but to "make the best of a bad matter." One characteristic in those camp schoolmasters of the errant type which may

have operated usefully, in a negative way, was that they never stopped long enough with any one family to greatly influence the ethical sense of any, young or old, who came in contact with them. Whatever in their earlier careers may have been their failings, in their magisterial days drink was their besetting sin. They were neither an evil nor an unconditional blessing; they were far from just what could be desired, but they were the nearest thing to it that could then be procured. Without them, such as they were, the first couple of generations of Irish-Argentines would, from the educational point of view, be in very sorry state.

In the early days very few men born in the country turned to the occupation as a means of a livelihood, but latterly a small number have tried it, some of them with marked success, and many Argentine-born women and girls are engaged in what some poet called the "delightful task." But scarcely anything of the old order remains. Spanish holds as high, if not higher place, in those home-colleges as English. Parents have in too many cases passed from one extreme to the other in their ideas as to the language their children should know first, and English, such a very useful tongue to know, is frequently neglected where its imparting would cost no more effort than its daily use by the parents within the family circle. Irish-Argentines are very fortunately placed, they can by very slightly concerning themselves endow their children with the very great advantage of the two principal languages of the world, they will be acting very foolishly if they do not fully avail themselves of this good fortune.

The camp schoolmaster, no doubt, like other features of the first settlement of our people in this great new land, where systems and conditions change so rapidly, has passed forever, and because he was a part of the old life of our people I have deemed his memory worth preserving; otherwise, a generation or two hence, it would hardly be known that he ever existed.

THE "ATORRANTE" OR
NE'ER-DO-WELL.

"Atorrante" is a Spanish word which I think is best translated into English by the word "tramp." But the word, in the sense that I use it, is much more comprehensive than the English word which I give as its equivalent, for it also takes in the knock-about, the unfortunate rake, "the hard case" and perhaps some other divisions of the human species whose philosophy of life is somewhat out of agreement with that of the majority.

For the lazy man, the man with the hard thirst, the man of migratory propensities and the man the Americans call the "weary brother," Buenos Aires in the years gone by was truly the land of heart's desire. Wherever the wayfarer turned he could have food and lodging for the bare asking of them; sometimes he did not even need to humiliate himself to the extent of asking. At nearly every singleman's house he could dismount, "claim kindred there, and have his claim allowed"; drink was exceedingly cheap and excessively strong; horses of an age and mettle proper to the unexact and easy nature of the true atorrante could be had usually for nothing, and on occasion the generous owner of such stock would not hesitate to offer a small bonus with the animal, so as to encourage the new proprietor to pursue his career onward. The climate, too, was most propitious, so, as might be conjectured, under such a number of favorable circumstances, the genus increased in number. I must say before going any further I am not interested in atorrantes of any nationality except my own, and numerous as at one time they were I do not believe that it could be said that any of them were to the manner born. Most, if not all, of them had started well and honorably, and many of them had risen in their earlier years to circumstances of comparative wealth and comfort. But Argentina is the land par excellence of ups and downs, for quick successes and equally quick failures. A long season's

drought or any one of several bad epidemics in sheep might destroy the fruit of several years' hard labor. There is a peculiar tendency to fatalism in the native Argentines, and whether from climata or from association many of our people get tinged with the same notions. The endless level of the lonely Pampas, too, like much looking on the sea, or much thinking on eternity, inspires a certain melancholy in some natures and these two spiritual conditions in a man living alone are very dangerous when disappointments come and the drink-shop is in easy reach. Combine with these the seemingly easy life of the knock-about and you will, I think, be on the right track towards understanding why so many of our people "went to the bad," as the saying is.

Not all atorrantes, however, reached the same degree of perfection—yes, perfection in, or mastery of their art. For whatever be one's order or grade the greater extremes he gets to in that line the more perfect he is, in his way. Thus we hear people say someone is a "perfect fool"; someone else is a "perfect madman"; and someone else again is a "perfect blackguard," hence we may have perfect atorrantes. The most advanced were those who crouched about the camp towns watching to see someone in from the estancias and sheep-runs, with the hope of begging a few cents to procure a mouthful of alcoholic drink with, who obtained what served for their daily bread from neighborly charity and slept in some barn or untenanted house at night. There are wrecks like these in every community, and I shall pass on to the next grade by merely remarking that it does not speak well for the philanthropy of our many millionaires and very wealthy people that there is no home to shelter such unhappy ones, except the native institutions, in their last few weary years.

The element in the next grade is a much less sorry one. They did an occasional day's work of the lighter kinds, such as tidying up wire fences, digging fuel in the corrals or cutting weeds and so established a claim to hospitality and a few dollars. This class would stay in the same place

a month or more were there nothing in the way of hard work on the programme. But just as soon as any preparations for, or talk of, working the flock, stacking hay or digging a well or ditch, were seen or heard some unexpected, but urgent, demand for the presence of the journeyman elsewhere was remembered and attended to, with regret, of course, but promptly. Stories in plenty are told of ruses and stratagems planned and practiced by sheep-men when they would be beginning to feel that their guest, or guests, were wearing out their friendship. Sometimes a farmer whose sheep would be perfectly healthy would begin to make the usual preparations for an early morning in the sheep-pens, and maybe ask some passing neighbor if he would come to give a hand in the morning at sunrise at the "curing." The neighbor under such circumstances could never come, and the guest discovered, after some thought, that to-morrow was exactly, and unfortunately, the very day he had promised Don Such-a-one, some leagues away to help him with his sheep—a man he was under a great compliment to, and with whom he would not break his word for anything.

One of this class in his professional rounds happened to call up at the house of a sheep-farmer whom he found to be an old friend of his in other times. They were both glad to see each other. The farmer was never without a drop and the heart to divide it. He made his guest quite at home, as he was himself all alone, and the visitor might be found to be a little useful in more ways than as mere company. The drink went around quite freely for some days; the company was jovial and very reminiscent, the drink, food and uses of the house had been shared equally by the two friends, but in the performance of the many little labors in and around the place there was no such cordial equality. The host was most politely allowed to discharge all the duties without the least interference by his courteous guest. In raising the glass to his lips in the numerous libations of the previous days the visitor never once forgot

to repeat the same toast, which for other reasons than its monotonous reiteration was getting tiresome to the host. The day came when the last of the store of drink was in the hands of the two friends; the guest, ever faithful to his good manners and his single toast, raised his glass and repeated: "I look towards you, Mr. So-and-So," and received the unexpected but very suggestive response: "Well, you can look to hell out of here now, for there's no more in the demijohn!"

Another type of the order which, although least numerous, had much more of the historic, universal and unmistakable tramp, was one that traveled all the country, north, south and west, as far as civilization extended in unbroken expanse, and did his journeying on foot. Unlike his North American brother he seldom stole rides on the cargo trains, but occasionally made a deal with his host or employer, as the case might be, to the effect that if said host, or employer, would take him to the nearest railway station and pay his fare on the train to some place of a moderate distance away he would, unlike Poe's unwelcome visitor, "take his form from off his floor." This class usually sought house work—cooking, by preference. They seldom remained less than a week with any employer, and in the very fine weather not often for a longer period. They rarely learned to go a-horse-back and so, for the greater part, passed their lives on foot. They would sometimes be a year or two, or even five, away from a given district, but you might meet them in Tandil, Santa Fé, Lujan or Venado Tuerto, always, however, the same, taking it easy and ever pleased to meet an old acquaintance. On such occasions they were always after suffering some very serious disappointment through the unfair impositions or exactions of some inconsiderate employer, but were then just on their way to take up a permanent and very lucrative position at the estancia of a most respectable gentleman who was extremely anxious to secure their services. As well as being the fewest in number they were the least interesting of the fraternity. They were

too much of a product of Old World civilization, and never became really Argentinized. But, like French chivalry, the days of the better class *atorrante* are gone.

The largest and most respectable class of the confraternity have yet to be dealt with, and were of the knock-about and unfortunate rake variety, much more than of the pure tramp and hard-case types. They were what might be called the fathers or founders of the order in our community, and the two first grades dealt with were something of a development of, or better, a degeneracy from the original standards. These had no aversion to work, under certain circumstances, on the contrary, they were commonly the best horsemen, the best shearers, the best lassoers, the best horse-tamers, in the country, and this superiority as day's-work men may have been the cause, to a great extent, of their roving and unsteady life. Wherever they put up for a day or two they were quite willing to make full recompense for the hospitality extended to them, in any kind of work that might be to be done. No races or cattle-marking were held anywhere within four or five leagues of their whereabouts but they took part in. In the shearing season they were able to reserve from gambling and drink a sufficient amount of their wages to buy a few necessary articles of clothing, but beyond this their economic sense seldom led them.

In shearing-time a rainy day or two came as a real God-send to them, as the work would have to be suspended for a start. Then they could enjoy, without loss of time through their fault, and in their own fond fashion, the fruits of their labors during the previous fine days of heavy toil. Gambling on the *taba*,¹ running challenge-races made among themselves, or with some neighboring sheep-farmer,

¹ A kind of pitch and toss, all in one, in which the instrument of the game is a bone from the ankle joint of a cow or bullock duly smoothed and prepared. The side of the *taba* (bone) remaining uppermost after it is pitched a length of not less than five meters decides the win or lose of the throw. It is an interesting and very fair gambling game.

or making things lively in the nearest liquor shop was generally the shape these enjoyments took. At night a company of them usually gathered at the house of some single man known to be not too particular as to the company he kept or the manner in which he conducted his home affairs. In such places the national beverage of the day, *caña*, went round more in accordance with the financial resources of the company than with any canon of good morality or hygienic safety. If the break in the weather lasted a day or so all the men were not sure to return to the shearing on the moment of its mending, but if the unfavorable days chanced to continue for a week or more, even the most unreserved would be on hand in time and probably sober. A story of the old days from the Capilla del Señor district will help to make clearer this single-man's house phase of the better class *atorrante* life:

It was broken weather; half a dozen of the shearers had gathered at the *puesto* of a shepherd on the *estancia* where the shearing was being done; the shepherd was a man of great size and strength, and reputed a not very desirable person to get into any serious difficulties with. His employer recommended him to keep such of the shearers as might hang around his place as much as possible under control, so that when a take-up would come on the weather they might be found fit for immediate service. It was also suggested that it was not meant by this that they were to be subjected to anything resembling actual monastic discipline, lest some of them become disaffected and retire to some neighboring estate where a fuller and more congenial form of individual liberty prevailed. The big man said that would be all right, that the fullest liberty, consistent with the safety of life and limb would be allowed till the weather should show signs of taking-up. His rule was according to his promise. No man was interfered with so long as he conducted himself in a manner at all worthy of his state. But there were lapses, and not a few, and the big man had to interfere. The chief virtue of his intervention on such

occasions being that it restored order unfailingly and quickly, and that it had, at least, the tacit approval of all the non-combatants. After a day or two it was noticeable that the self-billeted forces became less mutinous, and were enjoying their days of rest in a manner that might be justly described as fairly harmonious. So far there were no restrictive measures taken as regarded the drink question. But the sky cleared one day, the rain ceased, and there were various other signs that the weather was getting on its good behavior. The big man gave out the edict that if no rain fell during the afternoon or night shearing would be resumed next day, and there was to be no more *caña* brought to the house; the store on hand might be consumed, but every man was in honor and duty bound to be on hand in the morning and the night should be spent in rest and recuperation. The order was not to be questioned, although some of the audience devoutly wished for a good farewell shower before the night came down. But no; the rain had taken its leave as it had come, suddenly, and there were no lingering, tearful partings, to put it that way. Orders were for an early retirement and no singing or carousing during the night, and every man to be on foot at daylight. But ere the witching hour arrived the thirst in some of the sleepless had become insufferable and as the liquor-shop was scarcely a league away, it was unthinkable to be forced to endure such inhuman torture in a free country. One of the wakeful sufferers was handed the result of a surreptitious collection of funds, bade mount the night-horse, nor waste time in dressing or saddling, and gallop in all haste into Capilla before the liquor shop closed. A fleecy sheep-skin was thrown on the horse's back, somebody else groped around for a demijohn, the envoy put his feet in the first pair of boots he found, not noticing that they were very large, and soon was urging his steed through the darkness towards the village. The enterprise prospered so that within an hour the fiery fluid was being put around amongst the thirsty, the panting steed was in

his place again, but the rider noticed, for the first time that he had put one boot on, and he further discovered that the footwear he had lately been in were not his own but those of his host. This was the most serious part of the night's insubordination, but it was hoped to be gotten over by each and all of the compromised ones standing firm in the denial that anybody had stirred out of the encampment during the night.

The big man was astir with the first dawn, he could find but one of his boots—this was strange; further investigation as to the whereabouts of the missing item of the foot-gear revealed signs of some illicit movement in the settlement during the night; the sleep of some of the men did not seem a quite natural one; the tethered horse had perspired heavily, a thing unusual with animals standing in the open air and fetlock deep in cold mud. Horse-tracks in the direction of the village, the same tracks in an opposite direction, the mud still wet on the one boot he had—signs and tokens enough. The tracks must be followed at once before someone else should come the way and find the boot. Labor in vain! No boot on the road, no boot in the liquor-shop. The angered and disappointed man was returning to his dwelling when he met a neighbor and fellow-countryman from Lough-na Valley. The neighbor surprised to see the big man out so early, in such unwonted humor and bare of one foot, inquired what had happened. The tale, as the reader may imagine, was related with some amplifications and sequences which suggested danger to the injured man's guests. The neighbor, with a praiseworthy aim, sought to make light of the incident, that, anyhow, the boot alone was no use to anyone, and that after whoever had found it, had taken a bit of a rise out of him he would surely return it. The aggrieved one replied to all this soothing delivery: "Sure, man alive, I'm not thinking the loss the ould boot in itself, and if they weren't there it's a pair of alpagatas I'd have on me, but don't you see it's the boot off the foot that I kick them with."

In the sheep-camps a few of this grade of the atorrante still remain, but in altered circumstances. The changed times have stripped them of most of their independence. Many of them in the olden times used to return to the ways of righteousness and wisdom; many a one of them, too, suffered the penalty of their dissolute ways in ultimately and violent deaths. It was easy to become an atorrante when labor was scarce and food very plentiful, the reverse is now the order of things. And the man who puts the life of the rover and knock-about before him choses the hardest and most miserable career that Argentina knows to-day. There are tramps and knock-about in great abundance in the country now, but they are of other nationalities, and for the most part scarcely to blame for their sorry plight. As said already, it is a country of change and disappointment, and many a fair promise and fine hope are daily dashed to earth forever herein.

What the future may bring to the country no one may tell, but like the schoolmasters of the early days, the Irish atorrante, a product, to a large extent, of his kindly surroundings, has passed for good. They were a strange order of society, more to be sympathized with than censured. They had what, I suppose, they thought a good time; may they all live now in a still brighter and fairer land, than even Buenos Aires was when they knew it!

CHAPTER XVII

THE MULHALLS AND "THE STANDARD"

I HAVE heard it said, and seen it written, that it was Michael Duggan that was mainly instrumental in founding the newspaper, "The Standard." He is said to have interested a number of Irish wool-farmers in the enterprise, getting them to subscribe a fund whereon the paper was established. I have not been able to find any proof that this tradition is well-founded, although I have made inquiries amongst old Irish-Argentines who should be able to confirm or corroborate the legend if it had any real foundation in fact. The paper at its first start was an exceedingly simple affair—a weekly sheet, doubled over, making four pages. It had advertising enough right from the beginning to more than pay the cost of getting it out. Which cost at the start could hardly be so much as one hundred dollars a week of our present money; there could, therefore, be no need for a big fund for the starting of such a paper. The story of Duggan's collecting money for it probably originated in this way. Michael Duggan was then a well-known man amongst the Irish sheep-farmers; as wool and hide broker and consignee, he was acquainted with most of them, and Michael Mulhall when he founded the paper appointed, as may be seen by notice published at the time, Michael Duggan as one of his agents for its sale. Duggan, seeing the advantage of having a newspaper to defend and assert the rights of the English-speaking community, and being a personal friend of Mulhall, induced many, if not most, of his countrymen with whom he came in contact to become subscribers in the ordinary way. When Michael Mulhall came to Buenos Aires, in 1860, he

started a college in Calle San Martin where he taught English and various other languages. He was a highly educated man, having served for some time as professor in Carlow College. I believe he went to Rome to continue his studies for the priesthood, but not having a vocation for the clerical life he decided on coming to Buenos Aires where his brother, Edward Thomas, had been living for some five years. On May 1, 1861, the first number of "The Standard" appeared. In the following year Edward gave up sheep-farming, at which he had but poor success, and joined his brother in the newspaper enterprise. The paper had already taken well and was going ahead, and it is told that Michael said to Edward on his starting with him in the journalistic venture: "Look here now, in this business there is a chance for us to make fame for ourselves." Whereupon Edward replied: "To hell with fame, let us make money out of it!" Be this tale true or not, it pretty well expresses the policy of the paper under Edward's control and ever since.

Michael Mulhall and Edward had undoubtedly good business ability and were ready and clever newspaper writers. They quickly made the paper a success, assuming the role of champion of all English-speaking residents, as well as that of Germans and foreigners in general. They did very great service in exposing and denouncing outrages committed against settlers, especially against their own compatriots, and they never hesitated to denounce in the boldest terms the neglect or partiality of the authorities in bringing evil-doers to justice, nor did they refrain, when occasion demanded, from denouncing with spirit the inactivity or incompetency of the English consular agent and his officials here in such matters. In the Sixties, following the many changes of government and the numerous revolutions of the previous ten years, murder and all kinds of lawlessness were rampant in the camp districts; there was not a parish of the country wherein our people were then settling but had its good fame deeply stained by some dreadful murder and frequent robberies. Not one of these came under the notice

of the Mulhalls but was thoroughly ventilated and the crime charged up to the account of the authorities and even to the Government if every effort was not made to catch and punish the criminals. How hard and constant a fight they made on behalf of the law-abiding and industrious settlers and with what success, can best be understood by a perusal of the volumes of their paper for those years.

Michael Mulhall was not what we would call to-day a good nationalist, but in his time he was quite a respectable one. He was a true O'Connellite and, therefore, deeply loyal to "our gracious Queen," as he used to write. We would call him a shoneen now, but that was the political cult of most of our public men under the O'Connell influence until the Fenian awakening came to save the masses and make "Liberals" and West-Britons of the few. The revival of the Irish National spirit dates more from the advent of Fenianism than from the coming of the Gaelic League. That in time the Mulhalls turned the paper into an out and out English organ is not a thing that we should have any wonder for. Loyal as they were to their O'Connellism and to "our leige Lady, the Queen" they were more loyal to the rather commonplace principle of *get on in the world*, and if the success of their paper lay in a policy of sturdy and exclusive Irishism, that would surely be the line of their journalistic march. Their paper never got sufficient support from the Irish-Argentine people to keep it alive, and although there were in 1864 some twenty-five thousand Irish in the province of Buenos Aires they did not number one-third of the fifteen hundred subscribers to the "Standard," according to the Mulhalls themselves. Dependent on their own efforts, loyalists at heart, and ambitious to get on, they tended daily more and more to the side that gave them most support, till finally their paper came to be the recognized organ of the English community in Buenos Aires.

Of the three brothers Michael seems to have been the one of most literary ability and spirit. As a statistician

he rose to considerable fame, but the two books on Argentine compiled in partnership with his brother Edward are far from satisfactory or safe as authorities on the subjects on which they treat. As a few striking examples of the carelessness and want of information they frequently exhibited throughout these volumes, I will quote: "Handbook of the River Plate," page 92; "The Recoleta Cemetery is now little used; here the inhabitants of the city were interred for three centuries." When these words were written the Recoleta, as a burial place was scarcely fifty years old. All burials previous to 1824 having been made in and around the Catholic churches. The dissentients—Protestants, etc.—previous to this date had, it is true, a little burial place near the Retiro which was really the first cemetery opened in Buenos Aires. Whenever reference was to be made to any well-to-do Irishmen the Mulhalls usually set them down as Englishmen. A very misleading instance of this kind of pandering to the British and snob element amongst the Irish is met with on page 26 of the volume already mentioned. Rosario is being described in the year 1875, and the following is tacked on, with what intent let the reader decide: "Excursions may be made by rail to the colony of Bernstadt, or on horseback to the fine English estancias in the valley of the Pavon." There was not then a single English estancia in the valley of the Pavon, and I doubt if there was even an English resident or employee. There were, however, a score or so of very prosperous Irish families scattered over the district, and being prosperous they should, of course, be put to the credit of England. To Edward Mulhall is mostly attributed this kind of sycophancy.

To connect a dancing pavilion and amusements grounds, which some Englishmen had invested money in, with some historic and remarkable happening they have this in their "British in South America," page 330: "The venerable Dean Funes, the historian used to frequent the gardens, and was one day found dead seated on his usual bench." Young

Mitre, in his life of the Dean, tells that he had just entered the garden for the first time, urged by some of his friends, when he dropped down where he stood and expired. J. A. Wild, in his "70 Años Atras," bears out Mitre, and mentions that he remembered the dead man being carried into his father's house, the elder Wild being one of the friends who urged the illustrious old patriot and statesman to visit the place. Further on in the same volume, at page 325, is set down this "historic" incident: "Doña Clara (an English woman) was the widow of Captain Taylor, who pulled down the Spanish and hoisted the Argentine flag at the fort in 1810." It would scarcely be necessary to tell any Argentine schoolboy who had past the kindergarten stage that there was no Argentine flag for some years after 1810. Nor that when the patriots of Buenos Aires revolted against the governmental system under which they lived there was no fighting or seizure of the fort; the Viceroy was simply deposed and popular government established by vote of the Cabildo, the new authorities just then being as loyal to the Spanish flag as were the old. The foregoing are only a few of many glaring misstatements and errors in the Mulhall books, and are merely noticed here to give an idea of the political bias of their authors and to show how untrustworthy these volumes are as authorities on the matters with which they deal.

Before parting with these books, however, I would like to point out the absurdity of the story quoted from Miller on page 284 of "The British in South America." The fact, of course, that it was calculated to show up the great power for good of England, the "savagery" of the Spaniards, and had a very palatable dash of the stage Irishman in it, made its claim on their pages irresistible. It is to the effect that the Spaniards had a row of men, half naked, standing on a beach somewhere in the northern part of South America waiting to be shot by court-martial, when a sailor belonging to an English war-ship ran up to one of the doomed ones, whose white skin attracted his notice, and asked the

condemned if he were an Englishman. Of course he wasn't, he was an Irishman, so was his interlocutor, and after a real stage-Irishman dialogue the latter made off to his English officer, got him in due course to go and half-frighten the lives out of all the Spaniards in that part of the country and save that of the man with the very white skin. It is all very like the ways of courts-martial. A sailor getting off his ship and going to one of the doomed men, having a long and quite free conversation with him, getting back and having an interview with his commander, and then the commander upsetting all the military arrangements of the place. But at the end of it all one feels glad that it was with the Spaniards in South America this Irishman had to deal, a hundred years ago, instead of with Maxwell and Colthurst in Dublin in the year of our Lord 1916. To boom the English was hardly more grateful to the Mulhall taste than to clown their own countrymen, and this peculiar want of national self-respect, one of the political mortal sins, made many enemies for them among the enlightened and more spirited of their compatriots. Here is a typical editorial joke from the "Standard," 1866: "An error appeared in our impression of Sunday making Col. Palleja speak of horses as horned cattle: the Col. is not an Irishman." To derive Argentine names from Irish family names was another form of humor (?) they found great pleasure in indulging in. Thus Nuñez was Nooney, Aguirre Maguire, Bareto O'Barret, and so on, although I doubt if even their English admirers could discover much to enjoy in this peculiar order of wit or humor, or whatever it was offered for. If they had never written their books their memory would be less unhappy, for with all their faults they did many a good service to our people, and the "Standard" in its first twenty years had much that was very useful and little that was very objectionable in it. Their business principle seems to have been to boom themselves, flatter their friends and work hard. They wrote their own copy, were their own news-gatherers, did their own typesetting, operated them-

selves the old-fashioned hand-power printing machine on which they turned out the paper, folded it and went around to their city subscribers delivering it. I have often been told by people, whose word I have no reason to doubt, that they many a time saw Edward Mulhall out on horseback as far as Flores, early in the morning delivering his paper. Whatever may be thought or said of their political principles their industry, commonsense and wise moral courage were highly commendable. This, of course, was in the early and difficult days of the paper's life. In a few years it became the leading business paper of the city. The "Prensa" and the "Nacion" which have since risen to be among the great daily papers of the world did not then exist. The private lives of the Mulhalls were clean and honorable, and although they were not popular with the masses of their own countrymen they were generally held in high respect by the leaders and public men of their adopted country.

They were generous in subscribing to every Irish and Catholic charity and always willing to lend a helping hand in any cause that did not conflict with loyalty to "our leige Lady." When the Englishwoman tried to assassinate O'Donovan Rossa in New York, in 1885, the "Standard" said editorially: "His wound is not a dangerous one, but this fact causes general regret, as it is generally held everywhere in America that he richly deserved to be killed." This is a vile libel on Rossa and on the people of the United States. Rossa was a good and highly respected citizen of the Union, and if he was guilty of any misdemeanor the law of the land provided the remedy, but assassination, of even an enemy of "our leige Lady," is not generally approved in the great Republic. But the Mulhalls should prove their loyalty at any cost!

Edward took an active part in public affairs, and there was scarcely a foreigner in the county, in his time, who wielded a greater influence therein. For saying in his paper on an occasion, while it was yet young and vigorous, that

"God made the country and man made the town, but the devil made the Municipality of Buenos Aires," he was sued by that body to the courts, and government was called on to banish himself and his paper out of the country. Of course the courts took the commonsense view of the case and the joke remained on the city fathers. Edward, in time, assumed full control of the paper, Michael withdrawing to Ireland where his fame as a statistician rose high. The elder of the brothers seemed always able to keep more in the public eye. He made several attempts to found Irish-Argentine societies or clubs, but was always a most pronounced failure in these efforts. F. H. Mulhall, the youngest of the three brothers, edited the "Southern Cross" for a couple of years in the latter Seventies, but did not make much of a success of the paper. None of the family, except Michael, seemed to be possessed of any real Irish spirit, and I doubt, even if they tried, if they could write a newspaper that would appeal to any of their countrymen save those of the snobbish element. It is a remarkable thing that four of the family connected with the "Standard" died within a little over a year. E. T. and F. H. in February, 1899, and in the following year, Michael G., the founder of the paper, and W. F., a son of Edward's, passed away. They were a Dublin family, very Catholic and very loyal.

CHAPTER XVIII

HUTCHINSON AND HIS BOOKS—PROPOSED IRISH AGRICULTURAL COLONY—
TESTIMONIALS TO SHIP CAPTAINS—LISTS OF IMMIGRANTS—MARTIN O'CONNOR SAVES LIVES—"FIRST ASPIRATION" OF THE IRISH—O'CONNELL MONUMENT SUBSCRIPTION—FATHER FAHEY HONORED—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS—TESTIMONIAL TO FATHER FAHEY—THE FIRST IRISH SOCIETY.

WE are now at the year 1860, and as affording a glimpse at Buenos Aires, its ways, affairs, politics and prospects at this time, one of the most useful books I have met is a volume called "Gleanings," by an Irishman, Thomas Hutchinson. He was English Consul at Rosario for some years, but took a deep and sympathetic interest in the progress of the country generally, and made laborous investigations as to its possibilities as a cotton producing region. In view of the almost prohibitive prices of flesh meat at the present time it will be, perhaps, interesting to quote these couple of sentences from his look into the markets: "A good leg of mutton can be bought for one shilling. The very best beef is seldom higher in price than from a penny to three half-pence per pound." To-day it is only the rich who can afford to pay the price of the "very best beef," and even they complain that they cannot get it, as all the best is exported to Europe in one form or another. He notes with pleasure that the most successful sheep-farmers in the Republic are his own countrymen, and also remarks the preponderance in numbers of Westmeathmen and Wexfordians over those from the other Irish counties. Apropos of this fact a little joke of Father John Leahy's, which his seminary and early missionary-days' friend, Father Flannery, often tells will not be out of place here. Father John was from the Kingdom of Kerry, and he used to tell that when he was going to

school he had to learn that Ireland was divided into four provinces, but when he came to Argentina he found that the geographies were all wrong, and that the divisions were, Westmeath, Wexford, and all the rest Connact.

Hutchinson was not a too fond admirer of the Argentine peasant, the gaucho, and this little sketch, though not quite fair, is keenly descriptive as far as it goes. "Set a Gaucho to dance and he moves as if he were on a procession to his execution; ask him to sing, and he gives utterance to sounds resembling an Irish keen, accompanied with nasal drones suggestive of croup; put him to play the guitar, and you feel your flesh beginning to creep, for the tinkling elicited is as if a number of sick crickets were crackling their legs over the fingers of the player. Even the trumpeteer of our troop sounds the *reveille* and other calls as if they were fragments of the 'Dead March in Saul.' The Gaucho is only true to his type when he assumes the form of a Centaur." Hutchinson can never have seen the "gato" danced, nor have passed a day with the gaucho in the shearing pen. The military bugle calls are, indeed, doleful. I never hear them but I think of the frozen solitudes of the "Passing of the Andes," or that picture of Lavalle's soldiers bearing his dead body through the mountain break. But the purpose of an army under any and all circumstances is a solemn and a sad thing and this plaintive note on the bugle, after all, is not quite unbecoming.

Hutchinson like every man who is worth while had his non-friends, and the tale was circulated here in Buenos Aires that he got his appointment and preference from the English Government for betraying his friends. He was an Irishman and was, it is said, one of O'Connell's secretaries. As such he was in the know of all the Liberator's movements and plans, and kept the Government advised thereof. As the Repeal movement was an entirely open one I do not see where the secrets to be given away could come from. I do not give the story as having any foundation in fact, or the opposite, for I have not made any investigation of

it, and I merely mention it here as a piece of interesting gossip. Those who knew the man speak kindly of him, and his writings give one to understand that he was a rather good type of an Irishman. But speaking of his writings, gossip comes forward again with an unfavorable word, and says that, to his wife, who was a very brilliant Irishwoman, and served for some time as governess in the French royal family of Bonaparte, belongs the authorship of his books. Between them let it be; they were both very interesting characters and their books are well worth reading.

In '67 when there was a bad epidemic of cholera in Rosario they rendered great service to the poor and stricken of the city, for the Consul was an eminent medical man, and his wife was instrumental in establishing a sanatorium to cope with the plague. Numbers of people in Rosario owed their lives to them. Everything they did was for charity, and instead of any profit accruing to them from this they spent their own means freely in the good work. The Provincial Governor gratefully mentioned the Doctor's services in his message to the legislature in 1867.

Alsina in his history of immigration shows that it was in the year 1857 that a real turning of European emigration towards the River Plate commenced. In twenty years from that date more than three hundred and forty thousand immigrants arrived in Buenos Aires, and although a very small proportion of that vast host of peaceful invaders came from Ireland it is not the less true that Irish emigration to Argentina reached its greatest numerical strength in the Sixty decade. Several of the best sheep districts were then opening up, the battle of Pavon in 1861 closed all serious internal troubles, enabled the army to be devoted to the widening and securing of the frontiers of civilization, and wherever anything in the semblance of safety was hoped for there the sheep-farmers spread in. And every extension of the sheep-keeping area meant further requirements of Irish immigrants, hence the high-water mark of Irish immigration in these years. The governments, National and Pro-

vincial, were awaking to the needs of encouraging the inflow of Europeans and the destructive and prolonged Civil War in the United States contributed greatly to the success of their efforts. Cullen, in Santa Fé, had a special law made for facilitating the settlement in his province of agricultural immigrants. And the fact that Santa Fé, although one of the small provinces, is the second in importance in the Republic to-day is, in no small measure, due to this intelligent fostering of agriculture. About the same time President Mitre assumed the reins of National Government, and one of his first acts was to encourage the founding of an Irish agricultural colony on the same lines as other agricultural colonies were formed. To this end he took Father Fahey and some other of the leading Irishmen of Buenos Aires at the time into his confidence with the result that a large tract of land near Bahia Blanca was granted for this purpose. The scheme, however, did not prosper. With no railways and few or no coastwise steamers Bahia Blanca was very far away in '62.

In those days ships sailed directly for the River Plate, and the Buenos Aires *Fianna*, in its seventh number, published a few years ago, gave some interesting data, collected from newspapers of the time, with reference to the sailing in the latter part of the year '56 of the "Waterwitch" with 115 emigrants "all from the neighborhood of Mullingar." This was probably the largest number of passengers that left by any one boat from Ireland for Argentina up to that date. In '62 the "Raymond" beat this record by twenty-one, she landing in Buenos Aires, on October 1st of that year, 136 passengers from Ireland. In August, 1863, the "Rosalie" discharged 50 immigrants, one passenger, a man named Spens from Ballinacarriga, having died on the voyage. Later in the same year, in October, the "Raymond" beat its previous record by one, landing safely 137 immigrants; and still later, December 27, another batch arrived by "La Zingara," full number not stated, but I find some forty names to a testimonial of praise to the

Captain of the boat and his officers for their kindness, and it is mentioned that some of the passengers went ashore without signing the document; in all there were, probably, some fifty or sixty. These figures do not by any means include all the Irish immigrants who arrived between '57 and '65, possibly, not even half the number, but I give them as showing what a strong inflow of Irish there was then.

It was customary, it would appear, for the passengers to give expression of their gratitude to the ship's Captain and officers for the kindness and care shown by these on the voyage. How much such testimonials were deserved, or how much of the real feelings of the subscribers they expressed, is not worth while considering now. I suppose they were a sort of trade advertisement gotten up by the interested parties and passed around to be signed, as a matter of course. Be this as it may, I am glad to avail of them to add to the record of the names of, if not the first, some of the early comers and founders of the Irish-Argentine colony. Thus in unexpected places and through strange accidents and chances one often meets with very useful and interesting historical data. There must be many documents, old subscription lists, newspaper cuttings, and private correspondence in the homes of many of the descendants of the first Irish settlers that would be of great value in the compiling of a complete record of the founding of the Irish Argentine colony. Let us hope that they will be some day given to the light. Following is a list of passengers by the ships above named, not all, but such as I could find:

On the "Raymond," arrived Oct. 1st, 1862: J. G. F. Murphy, P. Fitzsimons and family, C. C. Power, Andrew Kirwan, M.D., W. Mahony and family, J. Pigot, H. McCracken, J. Robinson, H. Leader, H. Gormley.

On the "Rosalie," arrived Aug. 4, 1863: Thomas Phelan, James Molphy, Thomas Nally, Michael M'Dermott, Con Conroy, James Dean, Michael Kenny, George Quinn—signers of testimonial.

On the "La Zingara," arrived Dec. 27, 1863: Michael Hyland, Richard Howlin, Nicholas Doyle, Christopher Molloy, John Brosnan, Patrick Berne, Michael Flanagan, Michael Molloy, Michael Dolan, John Cooper, Thomas Harrington, Patrick Beirne, Thomas McLoughlin, John Higgins, Thomas McLoughlin, Michael Dunleary, Peter Ward, Thomas Hughes, Owen Ward, John Leavy, James Leonard, Patrick Fitzpatrick, James Shrule, James Fox, Michael Griffin, William Spellman, Michael Casey, Michael Farrell, Joseph McGovern, Patrick Kilmarney, Thomas Carney, Thomas Harrington, Michael Molloy, John Bacon, James Farrell, Andrew Culligan, William Spellman—signers of testimonial.

Of the passengers arrived on the "Raymond," Oct. 6, 1862, "The Standard" reporter said: "They all seem strong, healthy and respectable, and bear a striking contrast to the embryo orange-venders and lottery-ticket sellers from the Mediterranean. The Rev. Mr. Fahey was most untiring in his exertions to see that they were properly accommodated. Thanks to his noble exertions all our fellow-countrymen were properly taken care of. About sixty or seventy were placed in the Emigrants' Asylum, but owing to the want of beds and separate apartments for the females, the greater part were removed to private lodging houses."

The steerage passengers of this trip presented the Captain, J. F. Sanders, with a silver cup and an address for his kindness. Dr. Gibbings, Ranchos, wrote as follows to the same officer:

Dear Sir:

I am thankful to you for your care and attention to the men sent to me by my brother from Ireland. Their account of the voyage and your consideration of them, is very flattering to you. If in any way I can be of service to you here, it shall be most grateful to me to be so.

Yours faithfully,

MICHAEL GIBBINGS.

An incident happened in the early days of 1862 which gave a young man from Galway, named Martin O'Connor,

a good deal of well-deserved fame. A certain boat-master, or skipper, being the worse for over-festivity, indulged in some queer antics in a small boat, upsetting it and spilling its contents, part of which he was himself, into the water. O'Connor being a good swimmer went to the rescue and saved two of the drowning, at the risk of his life, the over-festive officer being one of them. The young man was greatly lauded for his brave deed.

Business announcements, reports in the papers and registry of transactions in the ordinary course of affairs show that Irishmen were already in very considerable prominence in city and country. An article translated from the "Nacion Argentina" by the "Standard" in September, '62, is, I think, worth quoting in this connection:

"On Saturday last was sold by auction under the Cabildo a suerte of estancia, about three-fourths of a league square, for the sum of \$1,010,000.m/c. The land is situated in the Partido of Lujan, about seventeen leagues from town, and has realized the largest price ever known in this country. Señor Ledesma lately sold a league of camp for \$1,300,000.m/c., but this included some splendid plantations, fine buildings, etc., with a better situation and richer lands. Buenos Aires is now beginning to reap the fruits of her sacrifices. The era of prosperity for the Republic is heralded by facts and figures which nobody can deny. We see this in the fall of specie, \$30 per doublon, and in the increase of the value of land. It is unnecessary to state that the purchaser was an Irishman. Who can pay \$1,010,000.m/c. for three-fourths of a league unless an Irishman? It was also an Irishman who bought Señor Ledesma's estancia. The fact is that Irishmen pay for land what no one else can afford; and hence they are becoming owners of the best lands in the province. There are whole partidos in the north belonging exclusively to Irishmen. At this rate no one can compete with them. Presevering and laborious, their first aspiration, their leading passion is a flock of sheep and after that a piece of ground whereon to feed them. Thanks to this the Irishmen

for ten years back have been working an incredible revolution in the country. In the midst of our wars, in spite of disturbances, drought and depreciation of produce they have kept up the value of land and gradually increased the figure to an amount which the most sanguine could never have expected.

"Pastoral industry must undergo a change in sight of the rise of land. It is ascertained that a field of green alfalfa will support seven times as many sheep as verdant camp, and if the alfalfa be cut, double that number. We have yet to bring a hundred thousand sheep to feed on a league of land if we do not wish to remain a hundred years behind. Meantime it is but just to acknowledge that Irishmen are the apostles of the great pacific and moralizing revolution in which we are all following. We hope they will continue to buy land by the million."

I am unwilling to pass from this very generous and interesting tribute to the Irish immigrant without reminding the reader that it is that age-old characteristic of the race which the editor of the "Nación Argentina" calls their "first aspiration," their "leading passion," that has left us the Irish Nation. It was the longing for a land they could call their own that brought our remote ancestors "from beyond the sea" to that isle of Destiny which the race has ever since held. It was that old "first aspiration," that "leading passion" that led the descendants of those ancestors to fight the Dane, the Norman, the Tudor, the Cromwellian, and the landlords, Cromwell's spawn, and finally triumph over them all, for the land of the Destined Isle is still in the hands of the Gael. And but for that "first aspiration," that "leading passion," to get the land, and to keep, as Parnell said, "a firm grip" of it, the Irish people would be no more of a nation to-day than are the Jews.

It was often said in years gone-by, as we frequently hear repeated in these times, that the Irish of Argentina, considering their great wealth as a whole, were far from over-generous in their assistance of patriotic or charitable

causes. Whatever truth there may be in that charge, as regards the present generation, it would seem to be much better grounded in the case of the previous one, as the following item in my record for the year 1863 will, I believe, testify, but I do not admit that it is well grounded in either case. A movement had been started lately in Dublin for the building of a monument to the memory of O'Connell. Michael Mulhall, good loyal O'Connellite that he was, reported the movement duly in his paper and gave it his warmest approval. A subscription was started, John Kehoe of San Pedro contributing the first \$100.m/c. At frequent intervals for several months Mulhall urged on his Irish readers to lend a generous hand in so worthy and patriotic a cause, but the result of all his efforts did not reach twenty pounds sterling; yet as we have just seen there were Irishmen buying million-dollar estancias at the time, and whole partidos were passing into their possession. It may be said that Mulhall's influence and popularity were not very great amongst the Irish people, and I am inclined to that belief, myself, but one would think that the memory of O'Connell, only twenty years after the monster meetings, should appeal to his Catholic fellow-countrymen in Argentina with somewhat greater effect than is expressed in an outpouring that rises no higher than £19-13-0.

Wherever I can find the names of any of our people who in the olden days did anything in the cause of patriotism or charity I gladly set them down, for they deserve to be remembered, and to this end the subscribers to the O'Connell Monument Fund follow: John Kehoe, San Pedro; T. Fallon, Buenos Aires; M. G. Mulhall; M. McDonagh, C. de Areco; E. Lennon, Capilla del Señor; M. P. Rosenblad, Thomas Ledwith, Mercedes; J. T. Fitzgerald, C. de Areco; "Kilcoursey," Patrick Fleming, Buenos Aires; Edmund Dwyer, do.; Eugene Lynch, John Crowley, Edward Casey, Laurance Tormey, Suffern Bros., J. O'Connor, San Antonio de Areco; Thomas Fox, Gerald Robbins, John O'Connor, Dr. Fermin Irigoyen, Lujan; George Comyn, Thomas

Kearney, Rev. John Cullen, Miss Anne Cathcart (Scotch). The highest subscription was one of three hundred dollars made by Patrick Fleming, an old resident of Buenos Aires and who was brother of Archbishop Fleming of St. John's Newfoundland; nearly all the others were one hundred dollars each. Edmund Dwyer was a Tipperary man and head of the gas-works of Buenos Aires. I have given the addresses of the subscribers wherever noted. There was some open opposition to the movement, but the chief difficulty seems to have been that the people took practically no interest in it. A correspondent rather approvingly remarked, when the fund was closed, that but one of the half-dozen or more Irish priests in the country at the time could see his way to giving a subscription. Complaint was also made that it would be better to spend any money that could be got in relieving distress in the West of Ireland, which was dire, indeed, at the time. Still it is a strange fact that a fund for the building of a memorial to the Liberator, who, no matter how opinions may differ, was a great Irishman and a great benefactor of his people, kept open and strongly urged for six months was patronized by only about one in every thousand of our wealthy Catholic community in Argentina. Of the twenty-five subscribers of the less than twenty pounds sterling, three were non-Irish. In this year the first Irishman, not a Spanish citizen, to settle in Buenos Aires, Thomas Craig, died, at the advanced age of eighty-four years.

It was in May, 1864, that President Mitre conferred the honor of Canon on Father Fahey. The decree of the Soldier-President conferring this high distinction on the Irish Patriarch, "Patriarca Irlandes," as he was called, is a document very worthy of being inserted here. Although it would be almost impossible to find two men who rose to the first position in their nation more opposed to each other in political principle and governmental systems than Dictator Rosas and President Mitre they were at one in their respect and esteem for Father Fahey, and both of them took occa-

sion to manifest their distinguished regard for him. This is the decree:

Buenos Aires, May 19, 1864.

The President of the Argentine Republic has ordained and decreed:

Art. 1. The Reverends Dr. Edward O'Gorman and Anthony Fahey are hereby named honorary Canons of the Cathedral Church of Buenos Aires.

Art. 2. Let this be communicated, published and registered.

MITRE, President.

EDUARDO COSTA, Secretary.

Canon O'Gorman was a native of Buenos Aires and grandson of Thomas O'Gorman who, although seemingly an Irishman, came to Argentina from France, on account, it would appear, of the political troubles there. A great many Franco-Irish families who clung to the Bourbon cause had to fly from France in those days. They usually turned towards Spain and later to the Spanish-American colonies. Their descendants can be met with still in Mexico, the West Indies, and the Republics of South America. I call to mind the case of one of these, Patrick Daly by name, who established himself near the city of San Juan, in Puerto Rico, naming his estancia "San Patricio." The English in 1797 sought to take the city of San Juan, but failing to force their way past the Moro Castle into the harbor, they made a landing some miles to the east of the city and finding the principle estancia of the place called "San Patricio," and learning that its owner was a Señor Daly, they treated it the way their descendants treated the Boer farmsteads a hundred years afterwards, destroyed every stick and stake of it. Daly and many other French exiles were within the walls of the city and it is related that to some of these French, who were trained gunners, was largely due the successful holding of the forts and the final expulsion of the invaders.

Want of Irish spirit amongst our wealthy countrymen of Argentina is not, by any means, a new characteristic. As soon as our people began to get wealthy, some of them

began to get snobbish. To be of the English, to be with the English, to be thought English, in a word to ape the English, and so deserve their condescending smiles of recognition, would seem to have been the aim, laboriously and at large cost, sought by many of those and by their children as far back as fifty or sixty years ago. The Irish Hospital had then to be abandoned so that our new-rich might be more free to support the English institution without seeming to desert their own. To-day it is only sought to hand the Irish Girls' Orphanage over to a little group of purse-proud, Anglicized Irish-Argentine ladies. There is no English Girls' Orphanage here, hence, I suppose, the present move to undo an Irish institution that is really Irish. Still the Orphanage is not to be destroyed altogether, it is only to be made sufficiently English to suit the tastes of these Irish-Argentine, English-Red-Cross ladies; so we are not getting anything worse. A study of these matters, at the time I refer to, would be rather disheartening were it not that by making an honest and careful comparison between our rich people of then and now, we must arrive at the conclusion that we are not losing ground in that direction. We have, it is true, a greater number of these undesirables amongst us now than ever, but in the olden time they were left to work their evil way almost unquestioned, now there is a very general spirit of rebellion against them which holds them well at bay. In these days we hear a great deal about the difficulty of raising money by subscription to support the Irish Girls' Orphanage, and various causes are assigned for the paucity with which subscribers come forward. Whether these causes sufficiently explain the condition or no I shall not wait to consider, but the following letter from Father Fahey will amply prove that the paucity referred to is not a new characteristic of our people, nor that of the present is the first time that we had differences of opinion about the conduct of our institutions. The letter is headed, "The British Hospital," and runs: "Buenos Aires, Feb., 16, 1865. The Editors of the 'Standard.'

Gentlemen: In reading over the report of the Secretary of the British Hospital I was much surprised at the statement 'that many poor Irishmen were admitted often on the recommendation of Irish clergymen.' I have never recommended any poor Irishman to the charity of that hospital, for the simple reason that I could not administer the Holy Sacrament to him when dying. I have endeavored to provide for every sick countryman that called on me either in the Irish or native hospital, as circumstances required. The appeal which the Sisters of Mercy made to the Irish people last year for support for their hospital, met with little success, they scarcely received \$5000.m/c. (\$100 gold), from subscribers; they received two donations which enabled them to erect three rooms, and they are still expecting that some charitable countryman will enable them to complete the buildings.

"If the Directors of the British Hospital would refuse admittance to the Irishmen who would refuse to pay, they would avoid the expense which they now complain of. The Sisters of Mercy are doing all they can to fit up wards both for men and women; many of the latter come in from the camp, and cannot find a place sufficiently adapted to their circumstances.

"I should be glad to see both the hospitals well supported, as they are calculated to do an immensity of good to all poor, destitute British subjects. I am your obedient servant.
A. D. Fahey."

At this time there was a little movement on foot to consolidate or merge the two hospitals. As may be seen from the foregoing Father Fahey was in no way in favor of this, and gave very good reasons why. There is scarcely a list of subscribers to the British Hospital at this period, when the appeal of the nuns for the Irish Hospital met with the response of one hundred dollars, gold, but numbers of Irish names occur in. To help the Irish Hospital, I suppose, appeared to our new-rich like acknowledging one's poor relations, and many people, come suddenly into wealth,

are not greatly given to that kind of virtue. The Irish Hospital, Girls' Home, and Girls' Orphanage were not supported then any more than now by regular annual subscriptions, and they could no more have subsisted at that time, or at any period since, than they can now, save for the very generous donations and bequests which they received from the, comparatively, few.

Father Fahey, it is well known, lived in a condition bordering on actual poverty all his life in Buenos Aires. He founded hospitals, a convent, schools, orphanages, homes for the cure and care and comfort and betterment of his people, but a house or a home for himself he never had. His lodgings did not even afford reasonable accommodation for a man of his state and multifarious, if voluntary, responsibilities. Some of his friends in Buenos Aires, knowing all this, proposed on the quiet to offer a testimonial of their esteem and admiration of his great services in the shape of a sum of money that would enable him to buy a house for himself, and in due time the presentation came off. A short address was presented, with the money, to Father Fahey, and as the address and his reply thereto will better explain the purpose and disposition of the fund than anything I can say, I shall gladly give both, and following them, in pursuance of what I have set myself as a sort of binding principle as regards lists of names connected with any worthy object, I shall give the whole list of subscribers :

Buenos Aires, July 12, 1865.

To the Rev. A. D. Fahey, Buenos Aires,

Dear Rev. Sir:

Some months ago it was agreed upon by a number of your friends here, that a suitable opportunity had then arisen, for uniting your countrymen, both in town and camp districts, in a general expression of their unaltered regard for you personally, and of presenting you at the same time with some slight recognition of the many services received by them at your hands during your many years' residence in Buenos Aires.

I have now much pleasure in inclosing herewith a list of the sub-

scribers to this object, and of placing in your hands the sum of \$76,500 currency, collected by the committee. Had the amount been larger, the propriety of presenting it to you in a more permanent, if not more useful, form would have been considered, but a variety of circumstances have contributed to influence and retard the anticipations formed by the committee. Even now it has been found necessary to close the subscription list without having received the returns from many of the camp districts or the subscriptions promised by others. Nevertheless your acceptance of the above amount in money is requested as an evidence of the esteem of so many of your co-religionists abared in by several of different persuasions, who voluntarily desired to be associated in so well merited a testimonial.

Permit me to add that, individually it is gratifying to me to be the medium of communicating so pleasing a record of the friendship entertained for you—a friendship which will, I trust, become daily more strengthened. I am, dear Rev. Sir, on behalf of the Committee, your very faithful servant, Michael Carroll, Hon. Secy.

Reply,

Buenos Aires, 13th of July, 1865.

Michael Carroll, Esq.,

Hon. Secy., etc.,

My dear friend:

I wish I could convey to you in adequate terms the emotion I experienced in receiving this token of your good will towards me; however, that is impossible for me to do—I do thank you, thank you most sincerely.

The present you so kindly offer me is, in itself of great value, yet be assured that if there were not something more attached to it than the price of silver or gold, I should set a very slight regard on it. But I know full well it also conveys feelings of affection, and is accompanied by those sentiments of good will that would render the most trivial gift valuable, and, therefore, I do indeed thank you.

I have never sought for any testimonial of this kind for any little services I may have rendered my countrymen; having devoted my life to the service of the poor, I seek no other remuneration in this life for my labors.

Having no particular use for this money I shall hand it over to the Sisters of Mercy, who have incurred a heavy debt, in extending their schools and enlarging the hospital attached to their establishment.

I beg you will convey to the gentlemen composing the committee the expression of my sincere gratitude.

To yourself individually I am deeply indebted for the kind sympathy you have shown me on all occasions. I regret sincerely that we are so soon to be deprived of your valuable society in this country; but wherever your future destiny may be you may rely on having the sympathy and good wishes of a large number of friends in Buenos Aires.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

A. D. FAHEY.

Following is the list of subscribers and subscriptions:

COLLECTED BY THE HON. SECY.

Maua & Co., Buenos Aires, \$2000; Thomas Armstrong, \$2000; Michael Duggan, \$2000; John Hughes, \$2000; W. Leslie, Patrick Browne, Patrick Bookey, Francis Mahon, Terence Moore, Thomas Fallon, The Editor of "The Standard," George Temperley, A Friend, Ed. Wallace, \$1000 each; T. St. G. Armstrong, Daniel Maxwell, M. J. Barry, John Hyland (Salto), \$500 each.

COLLECTED BY T. FALLON.

P. Wallace (Chascomus), M. O'Rourke (Baradero), Jos. Clavin (Chivilcoy), J. McMahon (Giles), M. Healy (Lujan), Mrs. Corcoran (C. de Areco), Wm. Allen, M. Murray (C. de Areco), J. Lennon (Quilmes), Mr. Hood, \$500 each. Richard Norris (Navarro), John Mahon (Merlo), \$2000 each. A Friend (Mercedes), Thos. Gahan (Merlo), Jas. Murphy (Merlo), \$1000 each. David Fahey (Dolores), Thos. Young (Pilar), Patrick Cormack (Merlo), \$200 each. P. Kenny (Lujan), R. Hannan (Lujan), \$100 each.

COLLECTED BY MR. MICHAEL HIPWELL.

M. Hipwell (Pavon), A. C. Armstrong, do., J. P. Armstrong, do., E. D. Dowling, do., \$200 each.

HUTCHINSON AND HIS BOOKS, ETC. 825

COLLECTED BY JOHN DUFFY.

John Duffy & Sons (C. de Areco), \$5000; Peter Duffy, do., \$500; Mrs. Murphy, do., J. Cormack, do., J. Bannon, do., A. Parle, do., Chris. McGuire, do., \$200 each. James Gilligan, do., \$250. Mrs. Byrne, do., J. Stewart, do., J. Finnegan, do., J. Conlan, do., M. Daley, do., M. M'Dermott, do., M. Cassidy, do., Patrick Kerr, do., Thos. Dennin, do., A. Cormack, do., D. Brennan, do., H. Dalton, do., B. Rogers, do., \$100 each.

COLLECTED BY MR. RAMOS, C. DE ARECO.

Michael Finnerty, J. B. Dowling, \$500 each; Peter Egan, \$200.

COLLECTED BY P. MARTIN, ARECIFES.

Patrick Martin, \$200; A. Geoghegan, P. Cullen, W. Graves, E. Molloy, \$100 each.

COLLECTED AT "THE STANDARD" OFFICE.

M. Lawless (Lujan), John McGuire (Navarro), \$1000 each.

COLLECTED BY MR. BARRY.

John Whelan (Pilar), John Casey (Chivilcoy), \$500 each. Ed. Wallace (Pilar), Ed. Jordan (Magdalena), \$100 each.

COLLECTED BY T. DALY, RANCHOS.

P. Lawyer, W. Lawyer, J. Coughlan, P. Connarton, M. Riardon, \$200 each; O. Casey, T. McMahon, T. Daly, \$100 each.

COLLECTED BY MR. L. CASEY, NAVARRO.

Laurence Casey, \$2000; J. Kenny, S. Lalor, B. Murray, J. Murray, J. Geoghegan, R. Geoghegan, \$200 each. P. Casey & Brother, \$600.

.. COLLECTED BY ROBERT KELLY, MORON.

R. Kelly, \$5000; Jas. Casey, \$300; W. Smith, P. Whelan, M. Casey, J. Carey, \$200 each; J. Keegan, P. Allen, P. Whalen, B. Finn, D. McYolan, P. Kenny, \$100 each; W. Daley, J. Hafferty, \$50 each.

COLLECTED BY MR. ARMSTRONG, JR.

Henry Dose, B. A., \$500; J. A. Reddington, J. G. O'Dwyer, \$800 each.

COLLECTED BY MR. MICHAEL MURRAY, LEONES.

Laurence McGuire (Merlo), Laurence Kelly, do., \$1000 each; T. Naughton, do., W. Cleary, do., \$200 each; Ed. Cleary, \$100; P. Kelly (Leones), \$200; M. Murray (Leones), \$1500; Ed. Murrogh, do., \$200; J. Duffy (Mercedes), J. Devitt, do., T. Dillon, do., \$200 each; J. Gallagher, do., T. Gaynor, do., \$100; P. Kelly (Giles), \$100; A Protestant Admirer of Father Fahey, \$1000.

COLLECTED BY MR. GEORGE MORGAN, SAN ANTONIO.

G. Morgan, Ed. Morgan, Patrick Wheeler, \$1000 each; L. Tormey, R. Nugent, E. Mackern, \$500 each; D. Harrington, \$200; M. Morgan, M. Elif, \$100 each.

COLLECTED BY MICHAEL DUGGAN, BUENOS AIRES.

T. McGuire, T. Murray, T. Clancy, Jos. McLoughlin, Jas. Ferguson, \$500 each.

COLLECTED BY F. MAHON.

James Anderson, Buenos Aires, \$500.

Interest on Deposit, \$2097, less expenses, \$347. Net, \$1750. Amt. handed to Fr. Fahey, \$76,500. Michael Carroll, Hon. Sec. B. A. 12/7/65.

The sum of \$76,500 may at first sight appear quite large, but the dollars of those days were only worth two pence each. Reduced to gold dollars the amount stood a little over one thousand, five hundred dollars, a not very large sum to be sure, but considering the number of subscribers, decidedly generous. Still ten times that figure, would not be, under the circumstances, a response to the call to wonder at or boast about.

An editorial item in the "Standard" of January, '67, affords some statistics in connection with the Irish Convent deserving of notice. The establishment had sixty boarders, forty-four orphans and a free school for three hundred native children. The Irish Hospital, just then completed, was an institution "where many old men and women are cared for." The Government gave no support to the Sisters, "not even a vote of thanks."

In 1867 and for some couple of years before there are frequent references in the Buenos Aires papers, to the Fenian movement in Ireland and in North America, especially is this so in the "Standard," and considering that the Mulhalls were such ardent loyalists their treatment of the Irish patriots and their movement is entirely creditable. The contrast in the treatment of the Irish revolutionaries of that period and of those of last year by the same paper is the difference between gentlemen of a certain amount of self-respect and mere hired ruffians. The Mulhalls who founded the "Standard" were not grand models of the high type Irish patriot, but they were men of character and decent lives and they would never set their columns free to

the scribbling renegades and panderers who last year, in the days of the Dublin uprising, made the paper the most blackguardly anti-Irish thing that has come off a printing press in many years.

It is scarcely necessary to say here that the Fenian movement brought an entirely new spirit into the Irish people. This, or something to this effect, was said of the Young Ireland movement also, but it was scarcely meant politically. The Young Irelanders sang grand songs and said fine things, but their purpose, whatever it really was, never got down to the hearts of the people as did that of the Fenians. The coming of the Famine with all its horrors may have had much to do with this, but the fact is the Government suppressed their movement easily enough, whilst Fenianism defied its worst and is still a living, inspiring and even growing force. Its call was felt here in Buenos Aires and resulted in a number of men joining together and forming the first truly Irish national organization of which we have any reliable record. The Repeal Club of 1848 does not seem to have been more than a nominal thing, and I have not been able to find more than occasional references to it. The organization started in '67 was called "The Irish National Society of Buenos Aires," and the founders issued a manifesto setting forth the principles and purposes of the new society. It was to be *Irish*, members enjoying the fullest freedom of opinion, there was to be a reading room where men from the camp could meet and exchange ideas with each other and with their city friends. The first officers were D. P. Carmody, President; J. G. O'Farrell, Vice-President; J. J. Moran, Treasurer, and J. F. Ledwith, Secretary. The society gave its first banquet in celebration of the 25th of May, 1867. Mr. O'Farrell presided the banquet, and took care to say that the society was not a Fenian organization as some people had said, but on the contrary was non-political. Still the decorations consisted of Argentine, Irish and United States flags, there was no Union Jack, no "God Save the Queen," not even a

toast to "Her Majesty." Mr. O'Farrell might be a very loyal man, but his renunciation of Fenianism for himself and his fellow members somehow reminds one of that lady who did "protest too much." Mr. O'Farrell was the manager of an English company and we know how much, for we have had experience of it in our own time, the public utterances of such employees represent Irish-Argentine opinion. The organization had for its shield a very artistic harp entwined in shamrocks, and on a band beneath the harp the words, Erin go Bragh. Its permanent rooms were at Calle Mexico 72. It did not long survive Mr. O'Farrell's protest of its non-Fenianism; he was not the only one of the officers who was employed by English business concerns. This same circumstance has worked the failure of many an Irish society in Buenos Aires and other places in Argentina since '67. Why men so placed are always allowed to get to the top of such organizations I cannot explain, but I am convinced that while such is the order in our efforts at organization we shall never have an active and useful Irish society in the country.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CHOLERA—APPEALS FROM FATHER FAHEY—SUBSCRIPTIONS—IRISH CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

THROUGH nearly all the nineteenth century Buenos Aires was periodically visited by dreadful and destructive plagues, cholera and yellow fever being the most common and fatal. They attacked and imposed their toll of mortality on all nationalities, more or less equally, the poor, as is invariably the case in times of epidemic, suffering most heavily. Probably the worst and most destructive visitation of cholera ever experienced in the country was the one which commenced in the closing months of 1867 and continued far into the following year. Our poor, of course, had their share in the suffering, and Canon Fahey, a father, and more than a father, to his people, found himself harder pressed than ever to cope with the shocking needs of the case. The stories told of those times in the city and in the country, and especially in the country, are indeed heartrending, but what must it have been to be face to face with the terrible realities every day for many months. Death visited almost every family in the country—death, sudden and most agonizing. In some cases whole families were swept away in a day or two. Oftentimes corpses lay for several days unburied and the most gruesome tales are told of deaths and burials. But one story, not altogether gloomy, and the strangest I have heard related was of a little infant girl whose parents and brothers and sisters had all perished of the dread malady in a shepherd's house far away in the lonesome camp. The baby was just able to creep, and when it began to feel the want of food it crept out of the house and worked its way

along into a thick growth of weeds. No one may tell how, nor after what length of creeping and wailing, it reached a spot in the tall weeds where there was a large litter of very young pigs, the baby got amongst them and was nourished for some days by the sow, until some neighbors came to bury the dead family and missing the baby searched about for it and found it well in the sow's nest. The story may seem like a fiction, but I heard it told for truth in the year 1893, on the occasion of the marriage of a certain young woman who was said to be the lady in the case. Cases of men digging pits to bury some of their family and dying themselves before the fallen ones could be placed in the grave are said to have been quite common, and many a time I have heard it told that men, in this way, frequently dug their own graves. It was common then to bury the people wherever they died, especially when this happened far from any cemetery, but I believe the remains were in most cases of this kind taken to the cemeteries after the dread epidemic had run its course.

The "Appeal" from Father Fahey which follows tells its own tale, and is a part of the record of services and sufferings of the Irish Sisters of Mercy and of the never-to-be-forgotten old Sagart himself:

APPEAL

The unhappy circumstances under which the country is at present laboring, have thrown additional expenses on our charitable institutions, so that it is impossible to meet the many calls without public assistance.

I have rented a house in the neighborhood of the Irish Convent to receive a poor widow and ten or eleven orphans, who have been deprived of their parents by the prevailing sickness.

The Irish Hospital continues to tender important services to the poor, especially to the female portion, the number of which admitted this year has been considerable. At present there are upwards of forty patients, between men and women.

The Sisters of Mercy have had 103 boarders during the past year, 60 only paid for their boarding, \$250 per month, the remaining 43

were the children of poor people, and several of them orphans, supported and educated gratuitously by the Sisters. In addition they had a day school for the poor native children which averaged from 80 to 100 daily.

At the present moment the Sisters are visiting all the sick poor, taking them medicines and nourishment, and rendering them the most important services. Such instances are well deserving of the public support and I am sure it is only necessary to make them known in order to excite the public sympathy.

A. D. FAHEY,

Buenos Aires, Dec. 24, '67.

SUBSCRIPTIONS ACKNOWLEDGED SAME DATE.

The "Standard," \$1000; D. Dillon, Guardia del Monte, \$1000; J. Roynane, \$1000.

The year 1868 came with terror and alarm on the Plate countries, for the cholera epidemic, every day increasing in virulence, had spread out over Uruguay with even greater destructiveness than that with which it was devastating Argentina. Many of those who could afford the cost of distant travel fled the city, but the masses had no alternative to remaining, for the country districts to a very wide extent on either side of the great river were, if anything, more stricken and plagued than the city itself. The appeal issued by Father Fahey on Christmas Eve was meeting with little or no response. The Sisters of Mercy were overwhelmed with the increasing demand on their resources and their labors, and if monetary assistance was not soon forthcoming they would have to abandon the unfortunate people to their fate, in so far as shelter, food and medicines were concerned. The greater part of our wealthy countrymen lived in the country and were hard to be reached, heavy sorrows had fallen upon many of them, and something like panic had seized upon all. In no other way can the poor response to Father Fahey's appeal be accounted for. Still the poor could not be abandoned; his faith in the charity

and generosity of his people was deep, and on January 8th he appealed to them once more. This second exhortation met with better success, but still was far from meeting with a spontaneous and general response by the people, as will be seen by the list of subscribers, generous, individually, but extremely spare in number. I will give the second circular with an extract from an editorial in "The Standard," prefacing it:

"The awful state of things in Chascomus and the equally melancholy condition of the suburbs have been met by the Sisters with a heroism that only Religion supplies. Even yesterday when the Official Returns show a decided diminution in the mortality the Sisters in the neighborhood of their Convent had sixty visits in the day to make; whilst the sad news from Chascomus arrived at mid-day that one of the Sisters had been violently attacked, and was not expected to survive. The little hospital at the Convent here is now so crowded that it is with difficulty the patients can be attended. Of course the stock of medicines has been long since exhausted, and each day the poor Nuns have to defray the expenses of supporting a large number, both indoor and outdoor, as to most of the *ranchos* which they visit, they take soup and bread and other necessaries.

"Hard indeed must be the heart of him who refuses to aid these Angels of Mercy in this hour of gloom, and dull the man who is insensible to the sublime satisfaction of having given his mite to help in the cause of suffering humanity."

CIRCULAR

Buenos Aires, January 8, 1868.

Sir:

The frightful circumstances under which the country is labouring at present renders it necessary that every individual should do all that he can to mitigate the consequences of so awful a visitation.

Whilst Priests, both in town and camp, are hourly exposing their lives for the benefit of the people entrusted to their care; and whilst

the Sisters of Mercy—those true heroines of charity—are sacrificing themselves night and day, both in this city and in Chascomus, under the most awful circumstances, I consider it a special and rigid obligation on our countrymen, whom Divine Providence had blest with the goods of this world, to come forward generously and aid us by liberal subscriptions.

The English public have acted nobly towards our charities; and I am sure our own countrymen will not be outdone by them in generosity.

Our expenses are great—our labor is awful. But it is all nothing if we can save the people.

I am your faithful servant,

A. D. FAHEY.

The Sisters received at once the following subscriptions: Thomas Armstrong, \$3000; Edward Lumb, \$2000; "The Standard," Joseph Ronan, T. B. Coffin, Anonymous, P. S., \$1000 each; Barry and Walker, \$800; Frederick Wanklyn, Terence Moore, \$500 each; Francis Mulhall, \$300; F. W. Moore, \$250; John Kelly, Onesy y Mosquera, \$200 each; Curuchi & Co., Mackern Bros., T. N. J. L. S., \$100 each; H. A. S., A. Fulton, \$250 each; J. H. Green, \$100; Mr. Freyra, Rev. Mr. Smyth, Anonymous, C. Somers, Mrs. Porter, Mrs. Slevin, \$50 each.

Later on the following acknowledgments were made by the Sisters and Father Fahey for the same purpose: Mrs. H. A. Green and Children, Flores, \$450; Mrs. Reilly, \$200; Miss Bridget Murray, \$100; Miss Rose Dougherty, \$100; Miss Ann Owens, \$50; J. Wilson, \$50. By Fr. Fahey, M. Murray (Leones), \$2000; J. Dillon, do., \$100; J. Murray, do., \$300; J. Maguire, do., \$200; M. Cormack, do., \$100; Peter Ham (Lujan), \$1000; Ed. Morgan (Giles), \$1000; J. Butler, calle Corrientes, \$1000; W. Murphy (Salto), \$1500; J. Browne (La Chosa), \$1000. By the Sisters of Mercy: Mrs. C. Lumb and Children, \$250; Miss Gates, \$200; Mary Savage, \$100; Mary Murray, \$100; Rose McCarthy, Eliza Wallace, Maria Wallace, Kate Moran, Maria Moran, Ann Ledwith, Rose Ledwith, Margaret Hughes, Mary Ganly, \$100 each. John Butler, Mrs. Elortondo, Robert Kelly, \$500 each.

What afterwards came to be the Irish Catholic Association, with its Central Committee which in recent years has caused so much agitation and party feeling amongst our community, had its origin, in a sense, in 1869. Previous to then all the Irish charities and institutions and movements for Irish charitable purposes had their beginning and control in the hands of Father Fahey and the Sisters of Mercy. There was a committee of five trustees for the holding of the property from the year 1851, but this committee, as such, exercised no power or authority in the direction or management of affairs connected with the institutions. These institutions were now of very considerable property value, the annual outlay for their upkeep and development was well beyond what the Sisters of Mercy, by their own efforts, could realize; Father Fahey was already becoming old and the unrelenting strain of the last few years of terrible stress was telling plainly on his health. It was clearly necessary, and at once, to place some of the burden he had borne so long on other shoulders. The community was far-spread and wealthy, let representatives of that community in all its chief districts come forward now and help to carry on the good work. His plan was to form a commission in whose name the property would be held, and who would be responsible, in a measure, for its preservation and direction. In other words, a body of representative men who would see to the raising of the necessary funds for the due operation of the institutions, and to the proper use and disposition of such funds. Father Fahey does not exactly name a committee of management, but he announces that he retires from the temporal management himself, and fixes that collectors whom he names to raise the funds shall deal directly with the Sisters of Mercy who have the institutions under their care. The Irish Hospital is always the department of the charitable institutions in Calle Riobamba, and previously in Calle Merced, now Cangallo, which enlists Father Fahey's most earnest solicitude. The Irish Girls' Orphanage was only an acci-

dent or consequence of the Irish Girls' Boarding School. Many girls came to the Boarding School from the camp districts with parents in fairly good circumstances who before the ordinary term of school life, sometimes before a year, was over, found themselves orphans or the children of parents reduced to poverty, and not infrequently found themselves both orphaned and poor, such was then, and is still, the uncertainty of the campman's life and business position, especially, of course, the landless campman. The boarding school thus gradually became a school for orphans and the children of insolvent parents. So that the Irish Girls' Orphanage may be said to have never been founded at all, but came as a development of the charitable institutions founded for other purposes, while the Irish Hospital was from the beginning, so to speak. When Father Fahey began his mission in Buenos Aires there were few Irish Orphans to be looked after, but sick and disabled workmen in those days of little protection for the laborer and utterly unsanitary city conditions, were numerous and of dismal fate, and to these poor people his sympathy and help went out more than to any other class of sufferers. A hospital for these poor people was, therefore, with him the thing of all most needed. Every other department of benevolence, schools, orphanages, immigrant girls' home, etc., were good and had his ardent and continual approval and support, but all his public expressions and best efforts from the commencement of his labors in Buenos Aires showed that an Irish Catholic Hospital was the first wish of his heart and the constant aim of his life. Here is the statement which I regard as the origin, or what led to the founding of the Irish Catholic Association:

"IRISH HOSPITAL.

"The innumerable benefits conferred by this institution on a large number of our poor countrymen and women dur-

ing the past year deserves the warmest approbation of our countrymen. The frightful scourge which afflicted the country during the months of January and February compelled many, both from the camp and the city, to seek relief in this charitable asylum, and the care and attention they received from the Sisters of Mercy are too well known to require repetition.

“The sadness of the times rendered it impossible to collect funds in the country during the year to meet the expenses attending the institution, so that I was obliged to borrow money frequently to meet the monthly expenses, the average of which was—one month with another—five thousand dollars; having also to pay the funeral expenses of many poor persons who left no means. As the prospects of the country are now better, I am induced to appeal to the charity of our countrymen to contribute generously to the support of this excellent institution. As my health and age render me unable to attend further to the temporal management of the hospital, I consider it better to name collectors throughout the different districts of the camp and city, and to name Messrs. Michael Duggan & Co., treasurers, who will publish the list of subscribers, and pass the money received to the Sisters of Mercy, whose receipt also the treasurers will publish in acknowledgment of same.

“The following are the names of the collectors appointed for this purpose: Messrs. Michael Duggan & Co., Plaza 11 Septiembre; Messrs. Donovan & Bentham, Plaza Constitución; Messrs. Thomas Gahan, Merlo; Robert Kelly, Moreno; John Browne, Lujan; Peter Ham, Lujan; Michael Murray, Mercedes; Thomas Ledwith, Mercedes; Michael Murphy, Carmen de Areco; Thomas Kenny, Carmen de Areco; J. and P. Murphy, Salto; J. Ballesty, Rojas; G. Morgan, San Antonio de Areco; Nicholas Clancy, San Antonio de Areco; M. Murphy, Arrecifes, M. Hipwell, Pavon; J. Carmody, Rosario; M. Dougherty, San Pedro; M. Brennan, Baradero; E. Lennon, Capilla del Señor; J. Scully, Capilla del Señor; P. O’Neill, Lobos; R. Gahagan, Jr.,

Lobos; N. Furlong, Monte; D. E. Kelly, Las Flores; J. Ronan, Chivilcoy.

“A. D. FAHEY.

“Buenos Aires, November 6, 1868.”

In a great number of ways our people figure in the life of Buenos Aires within the years between 1860 and 1870, and a little notice of them, a passing glance at them, I am sure will not be without its interest for some readers, at least.

William Lennon, a Westmeathman, died in Buenos Aires in '61. He came to the country in 1833, was fifty-four years of age when he died and had been a wool-broker for many years. Daniel O'Hare goes into print protesting against the bigotry of the "Commercial Times" in attacking and libeling the Catholics of Buenos Aires, stating that the Catholics are twenty times as numerous as the Protestants and that they are deeply religious and tolerant. As to how religious the Catholics were then I know not, but they have always seemed to me very much too tolerant, that is, when one considers the treatment they receive from their non-Catholic critics both here in our midst and in some of the Protestant countries. Most of these bigoted and libelous critics are or have been "missionaries" amongst us who received special favors and kindnesses from our press and authorities, and who abuse and misrepresent the "benighted Catholics" as the most effective way of appealing to the generosity and charity of the supporters of the "Mission." Mr. M. T. Dooley was a competitor of the Standard editor in the teaching of all the languages. Patrick Bookey was a Municipal Councilor. Mr. Geoghegan had his hotel in Calle San Martin, in front of President Mitre's house and Mrs. Burns kept her lodging house in what is now Calle Lavalle. A subscription was started for Michael Morgan who came from the County of Down in 1825. Two years after his arrival he was seized and put on board an Argentine warship to fight for his adopted

country he served while there was anything to be done and never got a cent for his time, and his case was by no means singular. He had been a baker, forced mariner, and shepherd, and was then 70 years of age and destitute. Whoever invented the phrase, history repeats itself, gave the world a very true and useful saying, and although a bit hackneyed I take advantage of it to introduce a little historic fact which occurred the next year after the collection for poor Michael Morgan. Some Irish immigrants arrived in Buenos Aires just after the Paraguayan War broke out fighting men were badly wanted at the time and a person pretending to employ the new-comers made arrangements with them as to work, wages, etc., telling them that the *estancia* they were wanted on was in San Pedro, and put them on the river boat to that place. The unfortunate men were never landed at San Pedro, but shipped to Paraguay to fight Lopez. Some of them got back alive and are still in the flesh, but most of them, I believe, perished by the sword or by the way. In 1865 Fathers Callaghan and Kavanagh came to Buenos Aires, the former who used to preach in San Roque, did not remain long; the latter died at his nephew's in Bragado in February, 1880. Father Walsh, a student from Navan, was ordained at the Franciscan Church in 1866. Mr. Fallon's lottery agency was considered a lucky place to buy tickets, as many Irishmen purchased tickets there which drew large sums of money, and not a few of our estancieros of to-day are pointed to as amongst the lucky ones of those times.

In the year '67 more than six hundred Irish immigrants arrived in Buenos Aires, and in this decade a number of the first settlers of our people passed away. Among them being Mrs. Hanlon who came in '22, Bart. Foley, James McGuire, Patrick Donohue, Drs. Conyngham and Brown, all of whom came within a few years of Mrs. Hanlon's arrival. Dr. Conyngham was father of Dr. Conyngham of Entre Rios. Dr. Brown was the famous "silent Scotch doctor" of whom Wild tells the story which his, the Doctor's,

servant, a very loquacious Andaluz was once heard to relate to a friend. It ran thus: "Look here, I have been four years in the service of the Doctor and by the Virgin of the Miracles I have never yet heard him say a word more than, 'Juan, take her, the horse, out, and yoke her.'" The joke is on the Doctor's Spanish as well as on his reticence, for he makes the horse a female. Brown came to Buenos Aires in 1825 and in the following year entered the Navy under our famous countryman, his namesake; he knew something about medicine and surgery and was soon appointed Fleet Surgeon. He was called the Scotch Doctor because he came here from Scotland, but both his parents were Irish, and some say he was born in the North of Ireland himself. Like Conyngham, who was also an Ulsterman, he was a Catholic, and they are both buried in the Recoleta. In '68 Father Patrick Donovan, a Corkman, one of the old Irish Chaplains and brother to Dr. Donovan died. Same year the Sisters of Mercy opened their Irish Immigrant Girls' Home at 248 Calle Chacabuco. The first subscriptions towards its support, published, were from James McGuire, Mercedes, and from Thomas Cunningham and his "puesteros," \$500 and \$400 respectively; other subscriptions acknowledged soon after were from Father Samuel O'Reilly, \$500; John Brown, Lujan, \$500, and Patrick Doherty, \$200. Amongst those mentioned as taking the white veil or being professed in the Irish Convent were, Misses Norris and Kenny, Navarro; Miss Tormey, Giles; Miss Murphy, Lobos; Miss Garrahan, Mercedes. The institution is reported in a flourishing condition, the Fahey testimonial having been devoted to liquidating its hospital debts. Colleges of a satisfactory kind were scarce in Buenos Aires at this time, Father Fahey's endeavor to establish an Irish Catholic College having failed some years previously, he publicly recommended the Vincentian schools, where Mr. McNamara was teaching, to his people. Fr. Patrick J. Dillon had been distinguishing himself for some years for his great learning and early in '69 was made a Canon of

the Cathedral of Buenos Aires, in recognition of his unusual attainments as a scholarly priest. Some of the Irish names then prominent in Buenos Aires were: Henry O'Gorman, Chief of Police; John Coughlan, engineer of various public works; McGovern, Sullivan and Quinn, builders and public works contractors; Armstrong, O'Shea, Duggan, Donovan, Kenny, etc., merchants and brokers. Edward O'Gorman was Commissioner of Charities; Mr. O'Connor, Captain of the Port; O'Gorman and Dillon were judges, also, and the principal Irish medical man seems to have been Dr. Healy. Mr. Geoghegan had a very serious question with the English Consul, Parish, about debts due him by certain British subjects who had died in his hotel. On Geoghegan making his claim on the estate of his deceased guests for their hotel expenses, Parish is accused of having told him that he was an Irishman and to go and apply to Ireland for payment. The case attracted a good deal of attention at the time, and, from what can be gathered from the newspapers of the day, it would appear as if Geoghegan had been rather badly treated. About this same Mr. Geoghegan many comical stories used to be told by the old-time Irish who made his hotel, the Victoria, their stopping place when in from the camp. Here is one of the old yarns: There was some particularly serious revolution on and the police of the city gave orders to have all doors closed after a certain hour of the night, and that anybody that might be found on the street, without entirely satisfactory reasons, after that hour would be locked up for the night. A certain not very particularly law-abiding or sober-minded Irishman was in from the camp, and although staying at the Victoria, took a run around this particular evening amongst the other hotels where he expected to meet some of his countrymen on business like his own. He did not get home exactly in accordance with the police regulations, and knocked at Mr. Geoghegan's door somewhat after hours. Geoghegan was in no hurry to open the door and while doing so gave his guest a bit of his mind about the

kind of hours he, the guest, was keeping, and muttered something about the police laws. As soon as he opened the door, the campman caught him by the night clothes, pulled him outside, stepped in and locked the door. Mine host lost his temper, as may be imagined, beat the door with his hands and clamored so loudly for admission that a couple of the nearest policemen hurried, with drawn sabers, to the scene of the midnight uproar, and in spite of all his protestations marched Geoghegan off to the Police Station. The campman made arrangement for someone else to settle up his hotel account and was well on his way for where his flocks were feeding before Geoghegan got free in the morning.

Sixty-nine and Seventy were years of great depression.

CHAPTER XX

FATHER FAHEY DIES—FEVER FUNDS—ANTI-CLERICALISM—THE IRISH HOSPITAL

BY far the heaviest sorrow, and undoubtedly the most serious misfortune, that had fallen on our people in the River Plate since their first coming to this new land of destiny overtook them in '71, when Father Fahey died. So much has this great priest figured in the previous chapters that there is no need to enter into anything like a biographical sketch of him here. His works remain, and his memory is fondly cherished by the people, and their children, whom he so well served. And many of his countrymen who came to this country long after he had passed to his reward respect and revere his memory and tell of the great obligations our people are under to him with affection and pride as pure and enthusiastic as do those who were his personal and favored friends. The memory of Father Fahey is not failing or falling into decay. He may not be one of the canonized saints of our race, but to those of Gael blood in Argentina he will always hold a place not very far below that of Saint Patrick and Saint Brigid. And but for the disunions and jealousies that at such frequent intervals, and for so little cause, turn our community into warring factions or disgusted spectators of the miserable squabble, some public recognition by the Municipality, in the naming of some street after him, would ere now be effected. Father Fahey was twice honored by the highest authority in the land for his public service, and

if we sought in proper form to have his memory preserved, somewhat after the manner above indicated, the City Government would not be less generous than Rosas and Mitre.

Father Fahey was a tall man, stately of build, with a countenance, plain, but somewhat severe. Those who still remain of the generation who knew him personally, and they are now quite few, say that he rather repelled than attracted at first sight, but once he spoke his countenance underwent a complete change, a change which made one feel quite at ease in conversing with him. He was always cheerful and quite direct in his manner and words, scarcely ever jocose and never what we would call familiar. He dressed in the fashion of the secular priests in Ireland—in frock-coat and tall silk hat, a garb that must have seemed very strange on a priest sixty or seventy years ago in Buenos Aires. It has often been stated and most people have taken it for granted that he died of yellow fever, for that dreadful epidemic was then raging in the city, and the last sick-call he attended was that of a poor Italian woman stricken with the malady, but the certificate of his death signed by two medical men, states that he died from heart disease. He had complained for some years previously of heart trouble. He felt very unwell on Thursday evening, but did not take to his bed, and when the following day a doctor was called in he pronounced the patient suffering from a bilious attack. He was still attending to his duties, but within doors, on Saturday, and expressed himself as expecting to be out and attending to all his duties in a few days. Sunday a change for the worse came, and as the dawn of Monday morning was rising his great spirit passed into the light of eternal day. Our people have never seen his like since in Argentina, and although the same kind of labor is not any more to be done here, or anywhere else amongst our people, there is sore need for a great pastor in the Irish Argentine flock of to-day. This great pastor will, of course, some day arise, for our people are fated not to be lost to the old ideals of the race, and our community will surely yet pro-

duce its own Fahey, not to say its own McHale or Columcille.

Mulhall, who was a close friend of Father Fahey, says he was born in 1804, while Connolly, in his "Weekly Telegraph," and who was equally intimate with him, gives 1805 as the year of his birth. These two editors in their report of the funeral make statements, though of small importance, strangely at variance the one with the other. The "Standard" explains that owing to a rule of their order the Sisters of Mercy could not attend the funeral, and the "Telegraph" draws attention to the pathetic sight of these sisters weeping at the grave when all the mourners had turned away. Some French sisters attended the burial who may have been taken for the Irish nuns. It was the desire of the Archbishop to have the remains interred in the Cathedral, but as the law forbids such burials the body was borne to the vault of the clergy in the Recoleta. For many years some uncertainty prevailed as to where the body of Father Fahey was resting. The late William Bulfin, as editor of the Southern Cross, made careful investigation into the matter and in 1901 the remains were located, a few years later they were incased in new coffins and transferred to another vault of the clergy, and in 1911 to their present resting-place under the splendid Celtic cross near the principal entrance to the cemetery, and but a dozen yards or so from where the bones of the most famous Irishman that ever came to South America, Admiral Brown, are moldering to ashes.

A year or so before he died Father Fahey called in, from the Carmen de Areco district, Father John Leahy to assist him in his ever-increasing duties. The young priest was highly esteemed by the old Chaplain, and it was this young priest he wished should succeed him in the chaplaincy of Buenos Aires.

One of Father Leahy's first public acts in his new capacity was to call attention to a little attempt to start sectarian trouble made by certain English and Scotch resi-

dents who inaugurated a "British Subjects' Fever Fund" to be distributed by the English and Scotch chaplains. He characterized it as an effort to introduce the "No Irish Need Apply" principle into Buenos Aires. Protests and explanations followed in lively haste. Another fund was opened, called the "Irish Fever Fund," and no little spirit was evoked over the matter. It is only right to say that most of the English and Scotch residents strongly deprecated anything that might disturb the good relations that existed between the great body of the two nationalities all through their previous life in Buenos Aires. There were always some little bigots and mischief-makers, chiefly amongst the English element, but their influence or opportunity up to this time had not been quite favorable to their purpose. Messrs. Green and Bell, initiators of the fund that started the controversy, wrote denying any intention on their part to make such distinctions as suggested by Father Leahy, "The Standard," and others. Both gentlemen were generous contributors to all charitable funds in the past, and, no doubt, had nothing of sectarianism in their minds when they started this movement, they were, it was said, prompted to it by others, and notwithstanding their very ireful disclaimer it was plain to be seen that Father Leahy and the other protestors had reason to complain as things were. But in the light of these days of saner and manlier patriotism is it not humiliating to us that such a protest should be made by our leaders? Why should the Irish of Argentina claim a part in a "British Subjects' Fund?" Some say that we are losing in patriotic spirit, but I very deeply doubt that any Irish Chaplain or respectable Irish journalist would to-day think for a moment of uttering a complaint for our people being kept sternly outside the "British Subject" circle. Such, however, were then the evil ways of our leading, or I should say, our straying and crawling. We have still, unfortunately, amongst us many who creep and crawl, and a few who stray, but whatever these may feel in their hearts they

would hardly dare to raise a growl and whine in the public press because our poor were discriminated against in the doling out of charity provided for subjects of the English monarch. There were threats that subscriptions would be withdrawn if the restrictions complained of were not discontinued, and proposals to add Father Leahy and the American Chaplain, Mr. Jackson, to the distributors were made, but the "Irish Fever Fund" was already started and meeting with a most encouraging response. The "Standard" wrote March 22, 1871:

"FEVER RELIEF FUND.

"The humane gentlemen who undertook the task of getting up a subscription on the Bolsa for the widows and orphans of the present epidemic found everywhere a ready response to the noble appeal. Already more than \$28,000 have been handed in, and we hope to see the sum double. We were right in saying that the English residents are always ready to relieve their countrymen and lend a helping hand to suffering humanity.

"We opened a list at this office, and have received some donations, but we learn that the fund collected on the Bolsa is to be exclusively devoted to the poor of the English and Scotch congregations.

"Under these circumstances we have felt bound to give the list at our office a new heading:

'IRISH FEVER RELIEF FUND,'

and beg that those who have already handed us sums of money will kindly let us know whether we are to acknowledge the amounts on this understanding.

"We trust that our English and Scotch friends who have so liberally come forward for their own congregations

will also contribute to the Irish Relief Fund. It must be borne in mind that while the English and Scotch congregations have subsidies from the British Government the Irish residents have none. Moreover a certain class of the Irish community is suffering heavily under the epidemic; we allude to the servant girls, who have to wait by the sick bedside, and many of whom have already fallen victims to their fidelity and heroism."

The starting of the Irish Fever Fund met with very general approval and support. That the alarm of Fr. Leahy and the numerous protests published were timely and justified will be seen by the many non-Irish names in the following list of subscribers. As the occurrences occasioning the fund have been indicated already no explanatory introduction of the list can be required here. Subscribers per "The Standard": "The Standard," An Irishman, Mr. Webb, J. J. Revy, General Paez, J. Barrett, J. Leesmith, A Friend, S. Haycroft, J. Aungier, J. Browne, "Stand-by O'Gorman," C. E., G. Brown, M. Duggan, D. Duggan, Thomas Drysdale & Co., Bessie Browne, Kate Scannell, Zimmerman & Co., Thomas Armstrong, Thomas Duggan, A Friend, J. Casey, Blunkhurst & Co., Two Anti-Snobs, L. M. Brown, Con Langan, Paul Tragoni, Rusticus Fortin, J. M'Kiernan, Kenny Bros., J. Doolin, J. Walker, Drabble Bros., Patrick Busner, M. Barron, Ter. Moore, N. L., Graham, Watson & Co., B. R. Kenny, S. Pecher.

Per Father J. B. Leahy: Miss Nannery, T. Ryan, L. M. Browne, Miss Frahill, Bridget Ham, Mrs. A. Garrahan, Mrs. M. Colligan, Mrs. M. Kenny, Mrs. G. Clarke, Mrs. A. Ballesty, Ed. Garrahan, Pat. Manny, Ed. Kenny, J. Garrahan, J. Donohue, D. Garrahan, Owen Manny, M. Mallady, B. Donohue, M. Healy, Geo. Clarke, Luke Rooney, J. Kenny, Pat Colligan, T. Murray, Peter Daly, P. Smith, E. Eustace, F. Davis, J. Sharples, Mr. Tippet, T. Regan, Anne Murphy, Pat. Kelly, A Friend, F. S., W. B., Florence Donohue, Rev. S. Reilly, F. Langan, J. Quinn, W. Quinn,

Maria Quinn, John Quinn, Andrew Quinn, Rose Murray, Margaret Connor, J. Fagan, T. Stockdale, T. Nicholson, E. Dillon, Pat. Moore, John Moore, A Friend, per M. J. Moore, per Michael Hearne, Chivilcoy, \$6549.

San Antonio de Areco: Michael Brennan, Mrs. J. O'Connor, Mrs. Mooney, Miss Mooney.

The principal individual sums were: "A Friend," \$2000; Drysdale & Co., \$1000; Kenny Bros., \$1000; Terence Moore, \$1000; the other sums ranged from \$500 down to \$20.

For several years Buenos Aires had been suffering from some of the worst maladies known to the human race—cholera, yellow fever, and small-pox had followed one after the other in epidemics the most harrowing and destructive. Yet the awful gloom and sorrow with which they filled almost every family in the land were unavailing to restrain the demoniacal passion of hate in the breasts of the anti-clerics. While everybody, almost, was seeking to do whatever in each one's power lay to alleviate the general suffering these envenomed creatures came forward with charges that the priests and nuns were shirking their responsibilities and were false to their duties. A very pointed and unanswerable reply to those charges was duly forthcoming, and because it was delivered by an Irish priest, and because it lets in a useful and interesting gleam of light on some phases of life in the city at that moment, I present it here. Canon Dillon, its author, had already won high distinctions among the clergy of the Archdiocese, and was one of the professors of the chief seminary of the country as well as an Irish chaplain. Of all the strange manias that the mind of man suffers from I think anti-clericalism, as one meets it among the Latin peoples, is the one most utterly destructive of every worthy sentiment and manly ideal. For the anti-cleric, of the order I refer to, there is no patriotism, no religion, no morality, no social ideal, no political policy but the one, and that one covers all—the unconditional

abolition of the Catholic clergy. There may be good in everything save only the "clerigos," the "frailes," and no opportunity must ever be lost to say foul things of them. It is sometimes really pathetic and frequently quite ridiculous the extent to which this ugly passion dominates the lives of its victims. The following is the letter:

48 Reconquiste, March 24, 1871.

At this calamitous epoch, when our city is plunged in mourning under a dire epidemic it is consoling to see that some people dedicate themselves to the care of their suffering brethren. The Comision Popular deserves the praise of all, and will reap the reward which the Almighty promises when he says, "what you do for the poor you do for me."

The Sisters of Charity and the Irish nuns are untiring in assisting at the sick-bed and taking charge of poor orphans, giving help and consolation wherever they go. The clergymen of the city are no less diligent in their labors, and I regret to see that a member of the Comision Popular has thought proper to deprecate the neglect of the parochial clergy.

The clergy of Buenos Aires did their duty during the cholera, and do it still with zeal and charity, making every sacrifice for the good of the poor people attacked by the epidemic. They not only administer them the sacraments, but also in many cases give them pecuniary assistance. Meantime, wherever a priest takes a coach the fare is double or sometimes treble, as has happened to myself. And yet some people will say that we neglect our duty!

We call Heaven and our fellow-citizens to be our judges. I hereby inform the Comision Popular that I am at their service at all hours and places, whether as a clergyman or infirmarian, at the Lazaretto or in private houses; and I am authorized to say that my fellow Canons are as ready as myself.

In an attack on the clergy I am bound to take up the challenge. At a moment like this we should all unite, and not waste time in speeches, but work like men. Instead of empty projects, let us help the poor people who are dying of want and misery.

Let the Comision Popular continue its good work, and the recording Angel will enroll their names in the Book of Life.

P. CANON DILLON.

The question of merging the Irish and British Hospitals in one, or of discontinuing the Irish Hospital altogether, was mooted some years before Father Fahey's death, but the strong will, good sense and predominating influence amongst his countrymen of the good priest and good Irishman, who always felt that the Irish colony should be independent of the charity of others, and fully sufficient unto itself in all its needs, prevailed to keep the Irish Hospital and other Irish institutions intact while he lived. Soon after he had passed to his reward, however, the movement against the Irish Hospital was again revived. Father John Leahy, who succeeded Father Fahey in the Irish Chaplaincy of Buenos Aires, seems to have done everything in his power to have the wishes and purpose of his predecessor and friend fully and honorably complied with. He collected subscriptions, issued appeals to the people for support, published balances and reports and in general took the liveliest and most intelligent interest in its well-being. Of so much importance to the Irish-Argentine people do I deem this matter of the Irish Hospital that I shall devote the remainder of this chapter to giving in a collected narrative, although it is gathered from a period of eight or nine years, all the information I have been able to collect in connection therewith. There are, no doubt, many letters, official documents and statements in the archives of some Irish families here in Buenos Aires that would be very valuable to complete and elucidate the full history of the rise and fall of the institution, and I hope these pages, as well as preserving and making public property of what I have been able to get together, will have the good effect of bringing to light the missing links and the corroborating or correcting facts and complements of the story.

The Irish Hospital, as already shown, was founded by Father Fahey in 1847 or 1848, and all through his life it was the institution he felt to be most needed, most useful, and the one, above all others, he struggled hardest to establish and maintain. From reports, statements, criti-

cisms and balances to follow it will be seen that the institution was in as prosperous a condition as any charity hospital in the city at the time of Father Fahey's death; that it was fulfilling its mission nobly and to the great benefit of our people; that soon after disagreements and bickerings amongst its directors and managers were engendered and excited, and that slowly it was neglected, obstacles placed in the way of its usefulness and finally reduced to such a nullity as a hospital, that the Sisters, the best nurses and teachers the country had known, so far, had to leave, as the Archbishop said in his efforts to arouse interest in their behalf, "because they had little or nothing to do here." The Trustees, Directors and Committees had managed so well that within nine years after the demise of Father Fahey, the Irish Hospital was destroyed, the Irish nuns gone out of the country and the institutions which he labored for more than twenty years to establish closed and abandoned, and the Irish orphans and invalids scattered elsewhere. Here is Father John Leahy's Statement and Balance Sheet for 1871:

CIRCULAR

Buenos Aires, New Year's Day, 1872.

Dear Sir:

As you are aware the management of the Irish Hospital fell into my hands at a most trying time, and it needed all the faith I had in the generosity of my countrymen to induce me, not only to retain the patients then in the Hospital, but also to receive the numerous cases caused by the yellow fever. The sudden death of the lamented Father Fahey left the Hospital without funds to support it for a week, every thing looked gloomy and unpromising, when I appealed to the Irish to give their immediate and generous assistance, and save our community from the disgrace of having to close the Hospital doors, just when they should be thrown open widely and unhesitatingly. Thank God! the result has amply proved that my confidence was not unfounded.

A sickening horror creeps over me as I remember the scenes of multiplied want I had to witness during the yellow fever; but if I could call any recollection of that dreadful time happy, I may name three memories that at least were cheering amidst the otherwise universal gloom: I refer to the assistance by the heroic Irish Sisters of Mercy, the invaluable services rendered by the Irish Hospital, and the spontaneous and practical sympathy shown by the Irish people. Many of our community, especially of the Irish girls, who were received in the Hospital, and under God owe their recovery to the care and kindness of the Sisters would otherwise have but little chance of surviving. Even those who succumbed to the insidious disease had every care and consolation that could reconcile them to the approach of death, while outside of the Hospital they would, in nearly every case, linger to the end without a friend to speak to them in any language, to render them the least kindness during life, or to close their eyes in death. I only repeat now what I said a thousand times before: if the self-sacrificing priest to whom we owe every charitable institution we have, had only lived to see this, the last of his foundations a center of salvation, as it was during the yellow fever for those whose interests and protection held, perhaps, the highest place in his anxiety, he would have reaped a large return for all the trouble the Irish Hospital caused him; and few knew better than I did how heavily the debt contracted in establishing the Irish Hospital weighed upon him until the last moments of his life.

May the Hospital never again be needed for so sad a purpose, or be called upon to meet so terrible a want as it filled up during the past stricken months of 1871.

When I applied to you last March, to aid me in keeping the Hospital open, I promised to give you at the termination of the year a detailed account of donations, expenses, administration, etc. If I am not sufficiently explicit in this, press of business must be my excuse. I shall be glad to answer any pertinent inquiries made, no matter how minute. At the time of Father Fahey's death there were nine patients in the Hospital. Since then close on one hundred have been admitted. The average number of patients daily since March has been 115.44ths. The immediate expense as accounted for by the Sisters in charge, has been \$34,600, the average weekly expense has been \$556.9.11th. Average weekly expense for each patient \$7.539.34.23rds, a little less than \$7.1-6th m/c.

IRISH HOSPITAL ACCOUNT FROM 1ST OF MARCH, 1871, TO 1ST OF
JANUARY, 1872

Cr.

Paid to Sisters.....	\$20,000
Paid to Sisters.....	5,650
Paid to Dr. Lausen.....	6,000
Paid to Undertaker.....	8,555
To Contribution from San Pedro paid to Father Fahey.....	750
To publishing of 1st Circular.....	200
To publishing of 2nd Circular.....	700
To Outdoor Relief.....	850
To Loss by false bill.....	200
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$42,905

Dr.

To Subscriptions.....	\$38,183
To Received from patients.....	6,100
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$44,283

Balance.....\$1,378

I feel confident that these figures will establish the economy with which our Hospital has been managed, and shall be the most satisfactory appeal to you to contribute your generous and charitable assistance. You will see that nothing more than energy and union is needed to place the Irish Hospital on an independent footing, and leave each year a balance in its favour sufficient to raise a hope that before many years pass over there shall be a reserve fund adequate to place the Hospital beyond danger of such a crisis as it has past through last March.

I am not ignorant, and I grieve to be compelled to acknowledge it, that in quarters where, if I knew the country less, I would expect the most strenuous support, the Irish Hospital seems to have won but little sympathy. I would prefer to believe that the parties I refer to *seek* for an excuse to cover their want of generosity, rather than suppose them so slavishly anti-national as to argue that the Irish Hospital is inferior to any other similar institution merely because it is Irish. Would to God, in any case, that they had contented themselves with the mite they persuade themselves into saving, and not commit the

injustice of making themselves the propagandists of an injury to the sick poor. Some will say that if such and such a thing were to be had in the Irish Hospital they would readily subscribe, etc. How applicable the old adage, "*Live horse and you'll get grass.*"

The outlay must be regulated by the income and keeping in view the present state of the Hospital funds, to claim more from it than is absolutely needed lacks even the shadow of decency and justice.

There has not been a single application for admission refused, when the patient could, with propriety or justice to the Sisters and the sick, be received, while the Hospital has been under my charge. For admission nothing more has been, or shall be needed than a letter from any of the Irish pastors, when the Hospital funds are sufficient to warrant such a proceeding, the authority to give orders for admission shall be proportionately increased. As you are aware the Irish Chaplains form the present Board of Directors.

I beg to call your attention to the fact that your immediate assistance is required, as the balance given shows. Despite every care I know that many names shall appear strangely altered from the original. To avoid mistakes I give the following districts. Subscriptions shall be acknowledged in the papers when received and by circular at the end of the year. Hoping the favour of your subscription, and wishing you the blessing of a Happy New Year, I am, Yours, etc.

J. B. LEAHEY.

District of Mercedes: William Cleary, Michael Murray, Michael Murray, Jr., P. Green, J. Synnott, M. Cormack, O. Cormack, W. Cormack, T. Lestrangle, F. Gilligan, W. Duff, M. Thornton, J. Fitzgerald, J. Deane, W. Cormack, J. Cleary, B. Magara, J. Kelly, J. McLaughlin, P. Farrell, M. Muckedon, J. Boyce, J. Farrell, B. Cormack, N. Duff, Mrs. McCarthy, C. McDermott, T. Synnott, J. Gallagher, T. Gainor, A Friend, T. White, S. Whitty, W. Ganly, J. Naughton, C. Conlon, F. Gilligan, P. McCormac, P. Daly, J. McCormac, C. Laughery, W. Duff. Total from Mercedes, \$3380.

District of Lujan: Rev. S. O'Reilly, J. Browne, E. Slammon, E. Slammon, Jr., John Slammon, M. Slammon, P. Slammon, A Friend, T. Stanton, R. Whitty, J. Casey, J. Roche, P. Doyle, O. Keena, Mrs. Murphy, George Bird, P. Murray, J. Murray, D. Bowes, Mrs. Bowes, W. Murray, Mrs. Anne Murray, J. Nolan, J. McCrune, E. Kelly, Mrs. Whelan, J. Keegan, O. Moran, J. Moran, E. Flanagan, J. Duff, O. Killian, O. Keegan, M. Curry, W. Casey, J. Scally, M. Casey, W. Murray, T. Gahan, T. McGuire, J. Philips, H. Makay, J. Deane,

M. Thornton, P. Kelly, J. Slammon, J. Atkins, D. Shanley. Total, Lujan, \$4160.

District of Lobos: Mrs. Neale, B. Fox, J. Farrell, Mrs. Killemet, Mrs. Downey, Mrs. Furlong, Mrs. Keena, Mrs. Heylen, Mrs. Moran, Mrs. Nolan, Mrs. E. Moore, F. Dolan, J. Gaynor, P. Conroy, B. Hannon, J. Bryan, M. Gaynor, E. Tallon, Mrs. Dillon, Mrs. Murphy, T. C. Philips, Mrs. Walsh, Miss F. Murphy, Miss Hannon, Miss Conroy, Miss Lawler, N. Devereaux, J. Taylor, J. N. E. Walsh, E. Cormac, Widow J. McGuire, T. Fitzgerald, Widow D. Dillon, E. Borke, J. Seery, J. Cormac. Lobos Total, \$4720.

Chascomus: Mrs. Mahon, \$500. San Antonio de Areco: E. Morgan, \$1000. Capilla del Senor: M. Mahon, \$130.

District of San Pedro: P. McLaughlin, W. Cahill, O. Owens, A. Geoghegan, W. Murphy, J. Curran, C. Ford, C. Ford, Jr., T. Cloughessy, Mrs. E. Wynne, P. Allen, H. E. Ford, P. Doyle, P. Toole, R. Hayes, P. Dwyer, M. Conroy, J. H. Bennet, Luke Doyle, G. Quinn, J. Eustace, P. Eustace, G. Russell, A. Quinn, W. Quinn. (Under the contributions from San Pedro, I take the opportunity to remark that Mr. M. Dougherty had handed in some generous donations to the Irish Hospital previous to Father Fahey's death. Although I only account for the Hospital receipts and expenses since it fell under my direction, still I would wish to publish the list of subscriptions received per Mr. Dougherty. The list furnished has been lost, and when its loss was discovered it was too late to seek a copy of the amount at present acknowledged; \$750 has been already handed over to Father Fahey. J. B. Leahy.)

District of Carmen de Areco: L. M. Leahy, W. Murphy, J. Walsh, A. Friend, M. Pierce, Miss K. Roche, Miss M. J. Kehoe, Miss K. Murphy, P. Mara, M. S. Murray, J. T. Murray, J. Garry, J. Scally, J. Murray, M. Daly, M. Molloy, M. Carroll, J. Dowd, J. Flynn, P. Carrigy, P. Ward, J. J. F. Murphy, Mrs. Shoughnessy, J. W. Bryan, J. Egan, T. Kearney, A. Fox, J. Daly, P. Clark, J. Donovan, J. Moran, S. Crawford, T. Glennon, M. Williams, T. Connell, T. Calligan, J. Casey, P. Kerr, P. Keegan, Mrs. Allen, M. Fitzgerald, J. Burns, Mary Farrell, M. Mullens, J. Mullens, J. Cormack, P. Killian, R. Gray, T. Longworth, J. Cavanagh, P. Dowling, D. Murphy, T. Coleford, P. McGuire, T. Murphy, J. Shaughnessy, R. Murphy, J. Miller, C. Brady, T. Fallon, M. Kinsella, J. Flood, C. Merlin, W. Flood, J. Flynn, D. Nee, P. Duffy, P. Harkin, E. Hayden, P. Codd, M. Doyle, P. Kinsella, M. Connor, J. Murphy, A. Friend, T. Scott, M. Burke, L. Minor, M. McDonnell, M. Scallan, Mrs. Burke, M. Connors, M.

Monks, P. Ledwith, J. Smith, P. Dowling, J. Dowling, A. Pierce, M. Dowd, A Friend, B. M. Cassidy, T. Cox, M. Murtagh, J. Bannon, J. Lyons, H. Dalton, B. Rogers, D. Brennan, W. Mulligan, Mrs. Burns, B. Gaynor, A. Finnegan, N. Daly, M. Ward, J. Duffy & Sons, T. McGuire, M. Wade, E. Nally, J. Quinn, R. Hammond, J. Carroll, E. Kelly, B. Hope, J. Ward, Mrs. Barry, D. McCarthy, J. Keenahan, D. Brien, J. J. Murphy, P. Cormac, J. Pender, J. Keogh, J. McDuff, Miss M. Roche, Miss M. Henry, Miss S. Keogh, J. Roach, M. Quinn, Mr. Bannin, W. Savage, P. Langan, T. Collins, L. Quinn, L. Scally, T. Kenny, Mrs. Coady, Mrs. Wheeler, P. Scally, J. Farlong, P. Brown, J. Brown, T. Codd, R. Pierce, J. Coady, M. Clavin, J. Kenny, J. Crowley, J. Furlong, J. Rochford, T. Keogh, H. Kern, B. Mahon, T. Ledwith, J. Rafferty, J. Rooney, J. Macken, J. Doyle, P. Egan, J. Ballesty, W. Grier, J. Tobin, T. Mullady, J. Cunningham, P. Barrett, W. Boggin, T. Reilly, H. Ferguson, J. Jeffers, P. Roe, T. Reynolds, P. Ballesty, M. Murray, L. Leary, M. Dernian, P. Claffey, P. Dernian, J. Burke, T. Macombe, J. Daly, G. Tormey, P. Murphy, J. Murphy, G. Furlong, F. Pierce, T. Pitt, Mrs. Rourke, P. Bates, F. Mason, J. Mason, H. Anderson, S. Mason, W. Allen, M. Daly, M. Murphy, C. Flanagan, E. Allen, Mrs. Mason, M. Brien, E. Brien, P. Lynch, J. Ryle, M. Egan, J. Farrell, J. Cormack, M. Sheehy, J. McGuire, T. Dalton, J. Mc Guinness, J. Tumulty, P. Cordan, J. Moran, M. Lestrangle, E. Walpole, J. Kelly, J. McLoughlin, J. Handen, J. Lennon, P. J. Regan, P. Hogan, A Friend, J. Stuart, J. Allen, T. Hogan, Mrs. Stuart, J. Thomson, D. Ryan, J. Boyle, B. Torres, J. Street, M. Rigney, T. Ledwith, M. Murray, Mrs. J. Street, M. Gannon, E. Fagan, P. Fallon, J. Bracken, P. Dougherty, Mrs. Dougherty, Mrs. T. Kenny, Mrs. P. Scally, Mrs. Burke, P. Geoghegan, J. Grennan, G. Ledwith, J. Wilson, T. Egan, M. Linch, M. Ledwith, J. Farrell, A. McDonald, P. Wallace, P. Daly, J. Grennan, J. Neaster, J. Mullen, M. Lynch D. Coughlan, P. Ham, M. Gilligan, W. Ham, E. Harford, J. Harford, C. Harford, J. Casey, T. Farrell, M. Geoghegan, Mrs. Hyland, E. Shannahan, O. Ward, W. Gilligan, T. J. L., P. Nally, J. Brown, W. Garrahan, J. Kenny, J. Dinnan, J. Leonard, Hard-Up, Mrs. Gilligan, J. Gilligan, Mr. Plant, Mrs. Plant, Mrs. McDonagh, Mrs. Kenny, M. Tormey.—Carmen Total, \$20588.

Buenos Aires: J. B. Leahy, M. Duggan, and Kenny Bros. \$500 each; \$1500. Making the grand total of \$38,183.00.

From Father Leahy's "Circular" it can be gathered that the Irish Hospital rendered very great services to our sick

poor during the yellow fever epidemic; that it was sufficiently supported by the camp Irish to meet all its wants and leave a small balance; that it met with strong opposition in certain quarters, "slavishly anti-national," because it was Irish; that the Irish Chaplains were then its directors; that the subscriptions, all but a couple, were collected outside the millionaires and others of the city, more than half the whole amount coming from Father Michael Leahy's parish. And also that the Hospital was very well and economically managed, and that a satisfactory statement and balance sheet of its workings was promptly published.

During the year Seventy-two Father Leahy's health utterly broke down, and early in the year Seventy-three he had to resign the Chaplaincy of Buenos Aires and return to Ireland in an effort to restore his wasted vitality. At once the trouble about the Irish Hospital was renewed, and the Trustees (for although the Chaplains were directing the Hospital, and the Sisters carrying on the schools and supporting the orphans on their own resources, the whole property was held by Trustees) issued a circular which shows that everything was not going well. I must direct the reader's attention, just here, to the fact that "Father Fahey's will" which has been so often mentioned within the last twenty-five years, or so, is not a will at all, but a deed made by him some twenty years before his death, transferring the Irish property, which up to then was solely in his name, to five Trustees, of which five he was himself one. The "Circular" referred to, with a short letter thereon, by the surviving Trustees follows, being copied from the "Standard" of March, 1873:

To the Editor,

Dear Sir:

We beg of you to rectify the mistake that has occurred in the notice published in to-day's paper regarding the meeting to take place at the Irish Convent on the 25th at 11 o'clock, a. m.

It is there stated that the Trustees were nominated in the year

1861, whereas they were appointed since 1851, from which period they have continued in the same capacity until the present day.

We beg of you also to insert the inclosed letter, which has already been forwarded to the clergymen, but which we wish to make as public as possible.

We have the honour to remain yours respectfully,

PATRICK BOOKEY,
JAMES McDONNELL,
JOHN MCKLIERNAN.

CIRCULAR

Rev. and Esteemed Sir:

We the undersigned—Trustees appointed by the Rev. Anthony Fahey in the year 1851, to hold the property of the Irish Community situated in Calle Tucuman and Rio Bamba—now take the liberty of addressing you, in consequence of a duty laid upon us by His Lordship, Dr. Aneiros, Governor of this Archdiocese.

His Lordship wishes the designs of the Rev. Anthony Fahey to be carried out so as to insure to the Irish body all the beneficent results it was intended to produce.

To secure and perpetuate these results, it will be necessary for us to hold a meeting of fifty of the principal Irishmen in the country; according to the conditions specified by the deceased Anthony Fahey in his deed of transfer, (5th Article).

We are most grateful to his Lordship for the interest he thus shows in our country people, and we trust you also will cooperate warmly, on your own part, in this laudable design.

We propose to hold the meeting on the property itself at the Irish Convent, in Calle Tucuman, on Tuesday the 25th day of this next month of March.

For this purpose we beg of you to talk the matter over with the respectable Irishmen of your district, and to get them to delegate eight of the principal among them, as their representatives at the meeting.

Should any of the delegates be unable to attend the meeting in person it will be sufficient if they give authority to some one of the eight thus delegated to act for them on the occasion.

But that this authorization may be legal, it will be necessary for each to sign a paper, empowering the intending delegate to act and vote in their stead; nothing more will be needed.

We beg of you in all confidence as a Clergyman, as an Irishman, and as a friend of the Irish Convent, to assist at the meeting, and also to favor us with a speedy reply—We have the honour to remain, etc.

PATRICK BOOKEY,
JAMES McDONNELL,
JOHN MCKIERNAN.

It would appear from the above letter of the Trustees to the Chaplains that an effort was being made not only to suppress the Irish Hospital, but also the Irish Convent. The urging of each Chaplain, "as a friend of the Irish Convent," to come to the meeting is open to no other interpretation. Patrick Bookey had then been for some thirty years treasurer and a principal subscriber to every charitable and patriotic Irish movement that had been started in Buenos Aires, and for nearly all that time one of Father Fahey's closest and most trusted friends. The Sisters of Mercy had practically to support the Irish institutions—Hospital, Orphanage and free schools—by their own endeavors, the income from their pay-school and what they could collect from those within their reach being their only resources. After some meetings were held new Trustees were appointed, and the Sisters for the moment relieved of the burden of maintaining the Hospital. In September '73 they issued the following statement of account and of their position:

IRISH HOSPITAL REPORT.

Not quite six months have elapsed since we found ourselves called upon to choose whether to close the Irish Catholic Hospital, or to assume ourselves the responsibility of collecting funds; we chose, without hesitation, the latter alternative, and the confidence we thereby manifested in the good spirit and generosity of our countrymen, has not we are proudly happy to say, in the slightest degree been disappointed. But as, since then, arrangements have been made by which in future we will be saved all anxiety about collecting funds—the new Trustees of the Hospital Ground

having taken this charge upon themselves—we consequently wish to fulfil now, albeit prematurely, the promise we made in our circular last Easter of publishing an account of all monies received by us. In future this responsibility, so far as regards the Hospital, no longer devolves on us.

Donations received by the Sisters of Mercy towards the Irish Hospital: Rev. Patrick Lynch, \$1000; Rev. Anthony McNamara, \$500; Don Fco. Torroba, \$500; Rev. E. Kavanagh, \$100; Thomas Kenny, Once, \$500; Daniel Maxwell, \$1000; M. Murray, Mercedes, \$1000; M. Tyrrell, Mercedes, \$500; J. Dillon, Mercedes, \$500; M. Heavy, Mercedes, \$100; J. Feely, \$500; J. Connor, \$100; J. Ronan, Chivilcoy, \$500; L. Browne, \$100; John Hughes, \$500; Patrick Browne, \$500; J. Anderson, \$200; Thomas Reddy, \$500; T. Gainor, Dolores, \$500; T. Kilmurray, 25 de Mayo, \$300; J. Furlong, \$50. Total, \$9450.

Here are acknowledged only the donations actually received, without any mention of the many kind promises given of regular annual subscriptions. Special thanks are due to the spirited individuals who by their prompt contributions were the means of saving the Irish Hospital from being even temporarily closed.

Number of patients received this year up to Aug. 30. . . . 74

Maximum number in Hospital, twenty-five.

Number remaining.	9
Number of deaths.	5
Number discharged cured.	57
Number discharged incurable.	3

74

REPORT ON FIVE DEATHS.

Internal abscess.	1
Cancer of liver.	1
Bronchitis	1
Diphtheria	1
Phthisis	1

Two of these were in advanced state of disease when admitted.

The remaining cases were principally fever, rheumatism, phthisis, heart and brain diseases, cutaneous disorders, ophthalmia, with isolated cases of broken ankle, sunstroke, emollition of the brain, lymphangitis chronica. Operations: Extraction of Cataract, 1; Indecromia, 1; Extraction of sequestered bone, 1.

CASH STATEMENT.

Dr.

Donations as given above.....	\$9450
Various donations to Sisters.....	2750
Patients	5700
	<hr/>
	\$17,900

Cr.

Food	\$9754
Fuel and light.....	1521
Drugs	501
Extras	1548
Undertaker	300
Doctor (5 months).....	2500
Porter do.	1700
Salaries, wages, etc., discharged freely by the Sisters.....	0
Balance	25
	<hr/>
	\$17,900

The "new Trustees" spoken of above were a body called the Irish Hospital Committee or Commission and were the result of the meeting called by the old Trustees for March 25. In a few days after the statement of accounts of the Sisters was published these new Trustees issued the following rules and list of collectors:

IRISH HOSPITAL CODE.

RULE 1. That this Hospital be called the Irish Hospital of Buenos Aires.

RULE 2. That the Hospital be open to subscribers in case of sickness.

RULE 3. That the following be considered subscribers: Persons paying \$100 currency yearly, and workmen or "peons" in the camp in receipt of \$400 or less salary, on payment of \$50.

RULE 4. That any person paying \$1000 yearly shall be considered a patron of the Hospital with privilege of sending two free patients yearly; and those paying \$500, of sending one.

RULE 5. That no patient can be admitted without a written order from some party duly authorized to give same, except in urgent cases, when the Sisters of Mercy can determine as to admission of applicants.

RULE 6. That only subscribers shall have the privilege of voting at General Meetings.

RULE 7. That an Annual General Meeting be held on the 15th of August, for the appointment of Committee of Management for ensuing year, to which Meeting the outgoing Committee will submit a statement of receipts and expenditure during their term.

RULE 8. That the internal management be under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy, as it has been up to the present.

RULE 9. That patients who are non-subscribers be admitted, on bringing testimony of poverty from any authorized person.

RULE 10. Should the Hospital accommodation so permit, non-subscribers who can afford to pay may be admitted, on payment of \$50 per day.

RULE 11. That no case of small-pox or virulent contagious fevers can be received; but that arrangements shall be made for the reception of such cases in some of the City Hospitals.

RULE 12. That no person shall remain in the Hospital after the Doctor decides that he is to leave.

RULE 13. Persons whose reason is disturbed cannot be admitted.

RULE 14. All monies collected for the Hospital shall be deposited in the Mercantile Bank of the River Plate.

COLLECTORS APPOINTED.

Chascomus: Thomas Daly, Robert Wilson. **Ranchos:** Michael Keena, Edward Wallace. **Magdalena:** John Mahon, John Connolly. **San Vicente:** John Daly, Nicholas Jordan. **Guardia de Monte:** William Bohan, Patrick O'Gorman, Thos. Mahon. **Lobos:** Thomas Gahan, Felix Dolan, Edward Moore, John Geoghegan. **Cafuelas:** William Lambert. **Las Heras:** Edward Murphy, Lawrence Casey, Ed. Ham, James Ballesty. **Merlo:** Owen Lynch, Thomas Fox, Edward Dillon. **Pilar and Moreno:** Robert Kelly, Pierce Whelan. **Lujan:** Thomas Savage, Peter Murphy, Thomas McGuire, Michael Gardiner, Michael Corry. **Navarro:** Thomas King, James Carthy, James Dillon, Michael Fitzsimmons, James Norris, Patrick McGuire. **Mercedes:** Thomas Ledwith, Michael Tyrrell, Thomas Kearney, Richard King, Edward Kenny, William Cleary, James Kelly, Thomas Gahan, Michael Heavy. **Chivilcoy:** Michael Hearne, John Ronan, Michael Kelly, John Casey, Joseph Clavin. **Chacabuco:** James Casey, Michael Allen, Patrick Mulvihill, James Kenny. **Salto:** James Ham, William Murphy, John McGuire, Edward Casey, Thomas Kenny, John Crowley. **Rojas:** Patrick Murphy, Thomas Reardon, Mathew Tormey. **Pergamino:** John Fox, Thomas Nicholson. **Arrecifes:** Patrick Martin, William Allen, Mathew Browne. **San Nicolas:** Nicholas Hogan, Michael Farrell. **San Pedro:** John Harrington, Thomas Young, Edward Wynne, Denis Austin, Luke Doyle. **Baradero:** Nicholas Clancy, Hubert Rurke Michael Brennan. **San Antonio de Areco:** Hugh Duggan, Paul O'Neill, Edward Morgan, Patrick Hogan. **Giles:** John

Cunningham, Edward Tormey, Owen Maxwell. Capilla del Señor: James Gaynor, Edward Culligan, Edward Lennon, James Scully, James Fox. Carmen de Areco: John Kenny, John Dowling, Michael Murray, Thomas Doner, Patrick Dougherty, Thomas McGuire. Zarate: John Carey. 25 de Mayo: Edward Dennehy, Thomas Kilmurray. Saladillo: Thomas Cormack. Ensenada: Dr. Daley. For the City: Edward Mulhall, Patrick Browne, John Feely, Michael Barry, Thomas King. The Irish Clergymen and Trustees are likewise Collectors.

The above-named are authorized to give orders of admission to the Hospital in conformity with the rules of the Institution.

EDWARD CASEY, Hon. Sec.

September 10, 1873.

The new organization must have commenced its operations in a most extraordinary manner, for within a few months it is the object of public and severe censure by almost all the Irish Chaplains, in a body, and the Trustees are called upon to name a committee to manage the institution. Here is the next circular on the subject:

IRISH HOSPITAL.

We the undersigned Irish priests have seen with regret that the management of the Irish Hospital has been taken out of the hands of our respected, most worthy and self-sacrificing Sisters of Mercy. With sorrow we have learned of the annoyance to which these have been subjected during the last three months by some well-meaning but misguided and thoughtless gentlemen.

Relying on the cooperation of our parishioners, we pledge ourselves to support the Irish Hospital and to maintain it in the same spirit in which it was founded by the much lamented Father Fahey.

Persons desirous of contributing to this Charity will please send their subscriptions to any of the Irish Chaplains, or to Canon Dillon, Chaplain of the Hospital.

We do not wish anyone to collect money for this or any other charitable object connected with the Irish mission, except those

appointed by us and who have the approbation of His Grace the Archbishop.

It is our wish that the Trustees of the Hospital call a General Meeting of the people to name a Committee of Management. The sooner this is done the better. This Committee we hope to see composed of laymen and clergymen. We are proud to say that there is not a single Irishman in any of our parishes objectionable for the post of director; therefore, let it be distinctly understood that we object to no person that may be named by the General Meeting. We shall cooperate to the best of our power with the committee to support the Hospital, for we are convinced of the necessity of maintaining an institution which affords such advantages to our poor fellow-countrymen. We have always served the people faithfully in good and evil report; we have made their interests ours, participating in their joys, and sharing equally of their sorrows. We intend still to follow the same good course, and hope by the faithful discharge of our duty to draw still closer the chain of love that unites the Irish priests and Irish people. Signed: PATRICK LYNCH, JAS. J. CURRAN, P. J. DILLON, S. O'REILLY, ANTHONY MCNAMARA, WILLIAM GRENNAN, THOMAS MULLADY.

Buenos Aires, Dec. 6, 1873.

Immediately after the foregoing was published, Edward Casey, the secretary of the new organization, called a General Meeting of the Irish people at the Irish Hospital, in the name of the Trustees, and in "compliance with the wish of some of the Irish clergymen," as the summons had it. For this General Meeting the following Balance and Statement was published:

IRISH HOSPITAL REPORT, 1873.

Collected in Buenos Aires.....	\$4500
Collected by Felix Dolan.....	2320
Collected by Edward Lennon.....	1800
Collected by John Carey.....	1500
	<hr/>
Total	\$9620
Expended	9267
	<hr/>
Balance	\$ 353

After receiving the last-mentioned sum, November, 1873, we found that it was more than probable that the Trustees would resign the management and therefore decline receiving any more subscriptions. About \$30,000 were returned to subscribers, collections ceasing in the camp at the same time.

We have no hesitation in saying that had the collections continued, we would at the present moment have a balance to the credit of the Hospital of not less than \$100,000.

THOMAS DUGGAN, Treasurer.

EDWARD CASEY, Secretary.

The circular of the Chaplains, as a measure against the "annoyance" to which the Sisters were being subjected by the new management of the Irish Hospital, called on the people not to support this order of things, but to co-operate with them, the Chaplains, "to support the Irish Hospital and to maintain it in the same spirit in which it was founded by the much lamented Father Fahey." It is forty-three years since this question arose, so that few of the people, who took an active part in it can now be consulted, and there being a somewhat similar question agitating our community at the present moment, the matter of the Irish Orphanage, it is difficult to get the few who remember the facts of the case to give information which they fear might be used for or against either side in the controversy of to-day. But it is pretty plain from the hints in the statement of the Chaplains that it was being sought to turn the Hospital from the purpose and principles it served in Father Fahey's time. The new Committee took huff, returned, as shown in their statement, \$30,000 to the subscribers, and presented their resignation collectively with the following explanation:

"The undersigned for reasons which they think unnecessary to explain, decline to take the management of the Irish Hospital, and have delayed this long their resignations in the hope that by a little patience they would be enabled

to place the institution on a footing which would make it a credit to the Irish people.

"They return their best thanks to their countrymen for the high honor paid them, and assure them that they will ever preserve the greatest interest in the success and prosperity of the Institution. Buenos Aires, February 7, 1874. Peter Ham, John Browne, John O'Connor, James Ballesty, T. St. G. Armstrong, Thomas Duggan, Owen Gahan, Edward Garahan, Edward Casey, Michael Duffy, John Murphy."

As giving some idea of the scope and circumstances of the Irish Hospital and other institutions under the care of the Sisters of Mercy, and as revealing other items of interest in the year 1874, I insert the following letter from Canon Dillon to the Messrs. Mulhall:

Gentlemen:—I beg to thank sincerely the Buenos Aires Thespians for their generous donation (\$7454m/c) to the Irish Hospital. This institution which is admirably managed by the Sisters of Mercy, has rendered, during the last year, the most signal assistance to Irish, English, Scotch and American Catholics and Protestants.

The Thespians deserve well of their countrymen; for providing them with rational amusements and they have not been forgetful of the poor and sick.

May God grant them that reward which is the sure fruit of the prayers of the widow, the orphan and the destitute.

On behalf of the many poor who daily crowd my house, I appeal to the charity of my fellow-countrymen, I appeal to their generosity to assist me in relieving the immediate wants of many families now out of employment.

The good Sisters of Mercy clothe and feed thirty orphan children. How they manage to do so is a mystery to me. I sincerely hope that some pious and charitable persons will assist the poor Sisters in this trying time, when everything is so dear.

Poor people who require medicine will be supplied *gratis* by applying to me.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours sincerely,

PATRICK CANON DILLON.

From about this time on we begin to hear of collections for the Irish Orphanage, and daily less and less about the Irish Hospital. The Chaplains and the Nuns are evidently losing the fight to keep it open and true to its original purpose. By Cannon Dillon's letter we see that it was now no longer exclusively Irish, as he mentions English, Scotch and Americans amongst its inmates. This fact and the divisions arising therefrom soon had their effect amongst the subscribers and supporters of the institution, and in a few years there was no more Irish Hospital.

The Sisters came in for some of the blame of the failure of the Hospital; and as was quite natural when pro-Irish Hospital and anti-Irish Hospital factions were formed they had to appear as taking sides. We see the same to-day, though not to such an extent as then. Some people, speaking from hearsay, will tell you that they wanted to have everything their own way. Much of the property of which they had charge was their own, but controlled by trustees and committees it was inevitable that there should be clashing of interests and authorities. The discredit, however, of the disruption of the Irish Hospital and School seems to be entirely with the people who assumed to direct and maintain these institutions and not being able to have their own will in the running of them wrecked them. The camp people and the Irish Chaplains sympathized with the Sisters, so did the Archbishop, in so far as it was judicious for him to go. The Rev. Mother writing in 1877, said: ". . . we have some steady, quiet opposers in those who ought to help us. The Irish as a body are scattered some fifty to a hundred miles out in the camp; you see we cannot deal directly with them."¹ Such was the opposition to or boycott of the Sisters of Mercy and their institutions that in the same letter it is said: "But, and especially since the burning of the college (that of the Jesuits), we are left powerless for good." In '79 the Sisters announced their

intention of leaving Buenos Aires within a few months, and Archbishop Aneiros on hearing the distressing news issued this pastoral:

Buenos Aires, August 3, 1879.

To the Parish Priests of the city and the country of our Archdiocese.

I must call your attention to the Sisters of Mercy who have a school and chapel in this city, in Calle Rio Bamba, and in the town of Mercedes, opposite the Railway Station.

They came here 23 years ago from Dublin, brought out by the Irish community, then under the direction of the late estimable chaplain, Father Anthony Fahey. From this circumstance an impression gained ground that their services would be rendered exclusively to their countrymen; and the death of Father Fahey and the fact that the Irish being widely scattered over the country have resulted in the Sisters being asked to leave for other countries, as they declare they have little or nothing to do here.

These pretensions have alarmed me and remind me that the Sisters have a charitable and special calling for the education of poor children, visiting the sick and affording protection to unemployed young women of good character, objects of the highest interest for immigrants and the Irish community as well as for the whole camp and city population, which frequently requires such good offices.

Although Buenos Aires has, fortunately, many important charitable institutions, how can it be said that there are more of them than are required, or even enough of them, while the population is increasing through immigration from all parts of the world, and the existing institutions have such very scanty resources.

Where everything is new it is not surprising that many things are unknown. They must be made known. The object of this circular is to enjoin you to let your parishioners know the great services which the Sisters of Mercy, can render, and recommend them to avail themselves of such charitable services. We desire that you do not simply confine yourselves to reading this circular from the pulpit, but by every means suitable to your holy calling endeavour to obtain for the Sisters of Mercy as much employment as they can wish.

Heaven will reward your charity, and on our part we lovingly bless your.

FREDERICK, Archbishop of Buenos Aires.

¹ Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy.

But the efforts of the good Archbishop came too late; the Sisters had their arrangements made, and were glad to get away from a scene where useless suffering and disappointment were their lot through nearly all their nine years since Father Fahey's death. Lest any suppose that I may be prejudiced in what I write on this matter I shall make a few quotations from articles which the incident called forth at the time. Said the "Standard," September 28, 1879: "but the departure of such a useful community reflects on the nationality which these ladies are supposed to represent, and points to defects which no patriotism can screen from the most merited criticism." Two days later the same paper said: "The causes which have brought about the departure of the Sisters of Mercy reflect a stern and abiding reproach. . . . The subject is so grave that it must be dealt with notwithstanding the many considerations which to the present has imposed silence." In the following April it had a long and vigorous editorial on the same subject, a few paragraphs of which I give here: "The Irish college was attempted by the late lamented Father Fahey, and whether for the want of support, or other cause, it was found not to succeed. The property was transferred for a small sum, and upon conditions reserving certain privileges to the Irish people, for the education of their boys. The college that has risen upon that Irish property in the Calle Callao is the stateliest to-day in the whole of this Republic.

"The Irish Hospital flourished for a few years, and whether for want of patients or of support, or through defective management, its doors were closed and it became a thing of the past.

"The Irish Convent in the Calle Riobamba, which for 23 years was the most thriving of all Irish institutions, is to-day shut up, the nuns gone to Australia, and the trustees eagerly publishing notices calling meetings in order to discover what to do with the concern."

Father Martin Byrne, the Dublin priest who founded

the Passionist Order in Buenos Aires, contributed two lengthy articles to the newspaper just quoted from, on the 21st and 22nd of April, on this question, which was the chief topic of discussion among our community at the time. The letters are too long to quote in full, but a few sentences from them will be to the point as showing what he thought of the trustees and committees under whose management and direction the Irish Hospital and Irish Convent of Father Fahey collapsed. He has no hesitation in saying that the trustees of the Convent drove the Irish Nuns out on the pretext of getting in better teachers, and he goes on to say: "I have met the girls taught by the Irish Sisters as mothers, wives and sisters throughout the camp, and where on earth can better women in any of these orders be found? Their not having taught fast dancing is the only defects he heard complained of." He denounces the Trustees as dishonest in their dealing with the Irish people and with the new Order of nuns that was then being brought from Chili, as the meeting he is criticizing was called to decide the question of employing these nuns, although the matter was already arranged and the Community on its way from Chili. He also draws attention to the fact that the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul were besought to take in and care the Irish Orphan Girls when the Sisters of Mercy were leaving, but are not good enough to get the Irish Convent. One of his most interesting observations is that the Trustees and Committees would make life impossible for the new Order of nuns as they did for the Sisters of Mercy, and this forecast, as will be seen was quite correct. He mentions having been given the Irish Convent for the establishment of his own Order but with so much opposition and so many restrictions that he gave it back to the Trustees and would not accept it from them, "with all the debts paid off if they gave him three million dollars for doing so." He further states that the same 'lemen were then making war on him and trying to : his mission a failure—they succeeded, too.

From what I have been able to gather from the sources of information at my disposal, I incline to the belief that the wealthy amongst the Irish community of those days, especially in the city, were so desirous to have themselves considered a part of the British element in the population, that they felt it a duty to discourage and suppress, in so far as they could, any and every institution or organization with anything like a pretension to being exclusively Irish, and that tended to keep the Irish a separate and distinct nationality. The Irish Hospital was an "all creeds all races" affair in its dying years. When the Sacred Heart Sisters reopened the Irish Orphanage under the direction of these wealthy men it became an "all creeds all races" institution, too, and very soon began to fail. Several of the wealthy men who were of the Irish Hospital Commission, after the institution had failed, became enthusiastic collectors for, donators to, and directors of the British Hospital. In fairness and truth I must record that when they could have things as they wanted them they were generous and friendly towards the Irish charitable institutions, but their tendency was always to de-Irishize them. They desired to be themselves, and to make the Irish-Argentine people, something very different from what God had intended, they left only failure and discord in their track. The very wealthy Irish of Buenos Aires brought to ruin the Hospital which Father Fahey and the comparatively poor Irish founded thirty years before. "Be what you ought to be or you'll be nothing," was the great Argentine's, San Martin's, motto. These wealthy Irishmen who ought to have been their people's leaders and friends have been to them nothing, and their sons, born in Argentina, call themselves "Britanicos."

CHAPTER XXI

FAHEY MEMORIAL FUND—DR. SAREFIELD'S INSULTS—THE SAINT PATRICK'S SOCIETY—THE LADIES' IRISH BENEFICENT SOCIETY—FIRST SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE IRISH ORPHANAGE—THE GENERAL BROWN CLUB—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS—FOUNDING OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS—THOMAS ARMSTRONG—DR. GIBBINGS—COLLECTION FOR PATAGONIAN SCHOOLS—COLLECTION FOR CANON DILLON—VARIOUS ITEMS—MEETING TO FORM PERMANENT IRISH CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION—OTHER ITEMS.

IN the many lists of subscribers and collectors of Irish charitable and patriotic funds figuring in this work it is somewhat noticeable how comparatively few names of women are to be found. This can only be accounted for by the married women leaving such matters almost wholly to their husbands, and by the unmarried women having been left uncanvassed. My personal experience is that our Irish women are always more ready and generous in works of charity and patriotism than their brothers, and I was very happy to find that when the zealous and patriotic Father John Leahy was Chaplain of Buenos Aires he remembered them and gave them an opportunity to show the spirit and faith that was in them. The following contributions to the Fahey Memorial Fund, amounting to \$38,370.m/c. was, as will be seen from the list of subscribers, to a great extent the patriotic tribute of the Irish girls and Irish women of Buenos Aires. I do not say that the list is absolutely complete, but I give the names as I found them:

Mary Casey, Winifred Ward, Margaret Hughes, Ellen Dolan, Bridget Colclough, Bridget Corcoran, Mary Duffy, Mary McDonnell, Mary Robbins, Ellen Egan, Kate Ennis, F. P., Anne Egan, Mary Hughes, Margaret Farrell, Margaret Sharry, Bridget Ledwith, Mary Sommers, Kate

Murray, Margaret Frahill, Mary Griffin, Mary Carmody, Mary Fox, Anne Fox, Catherine Bohan, Catherine Casey, Bridget Daly, Anne Macken, Mary Hickey, Mary Gilligan, Bridget Ham, Mary Lynn, Bridget Kenny, Mary Farrell, Catherine Freeman, Margaret Sheen, Catherine Dillon, Margaret Dillon, Mrs. Flood, Mrs. Cullen, Mrs. Griffin, Julia Glennon, Julia Garry, Ellen Ganly, Mary Gillen, Mrs. Cullen (2nd donation), Mrs. Butler (2nd donation), Mrs. Griffin (2nd donation), Michael Kelly, John Duffy, Michael Murray, Michael Farrell, John Harrington, John Butler, Edward Murphy, T. Acheval, P. Muntilli, Thomas Armstrong, John Hughes, M. G. and E. T. Mulhall, H. Quinn, E. Ford, J. Fagan, D. Cranwell, Kenny Bros., P. Browne, F. Donovan, J. Hennessy, S. Haycroft, M. Barry, J. Feely, F. Dennehy, C. Connolly.

In 1871 Sarmiento was president of the Republic, and immigration, colonization, education and general advancement were the topics of discussion with every man who thought himself a statesman or political economist. It appears the President asked his minister, Dr. Velez Sarsfield, said to be descended from the same family as the hero of Limerick, for an opinion as to the merits of English and Irish immigrants as compared with those of other countries, or something to that effect. Sarsfield, then a rather sour and choleric old man, surprised everyone who heard or read what he had to say by indulging in a wild and quite ill-tempered outbreak of abuse and misrepresentation of all immigrants. He paid special attention to the Irish, his own race, declaring that they were retarding the progress of the country, by their idleness, want of cleanliness and general backwardness, and that they brought dirt and misery with them everywhere they went. The outburst called forth a storm of protest and refutation and the following from one of the articles replying to the old man is very interesting as showing what the Irish colony in rural Buenos Aires was at the time: "The Irish population in the campaña of Buenos Aires is from fifteen to twenty

thousand, almost exclusively occupied in sheep-farming. There are 135 Irish estancias containing 125 leagues of land, the very cream of the Province. These 135 estancias with their improvements and stock represent a capital of at least two hundred million dollars. The Irishmen who have flocks on rented camps, or in partnership with men of other nationalities, possess about three million sheep. The wool sold this year in Buenos Aires belonging to Irishmen ascends to 900,000 arrobas, what the value of this crop is Dr. Velez can easily calculate, the price averages about \$85 per arroba." (About \$1,610,000 gold.) "The Nacion" criticized the old man very sharply and appealed to the President to remove him from office as he was already in his dotage. Sarmiento being himself something of a Hibernophobe, as he proved some dozen years later, of course, did nothing to reprove or disown his Minister's miserable calumnies.

In the latter part of 1872 some of the leading Irishmen of Buenos Aires commenced to agitate the founding of a strong Irish society on the lines, more or less, of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the United States, and on March 16th of the following year the first public organizing meeting was to be held. The objects of this new society were all excellent, and in its time it did some very good work. Here is a paragraph from its first manifesto: "No political or sectarian importance should be given to this scheme, since it aims at neither; the sole and principal object being to bring the Irish colony in the River Plate more together; to give shape to their influence; to see that the requirements of the city parish of Buenos Aires are properly attended to, to help the Irish Sisters of Mercy in their divine mission of teaching the poor, caring the sick and making due provision for orphans and destitute countrymen; to found in Buenos Aires, as soon as the funds will admit, a clubroom with lecture hall where Irishmen can meet. These are the objects of this Society; nothing higher or grander is aimed at." The officers elected at

the first meeting, March 16, 1873, were: Thomas Armstrong, President; Michael Duggan and E. T. Mulhall, Vice-Presidents; Hon. Vice-Presidents, Dalmacio Velez Sarsfield, William Rawson, Daniel Maxwell; Rev. William M. Walsh, Irish Chaplain, Buenos Aires, Secretary, with James Browne for Assistant-Secretary, Thomas Duggan being Treasurer. Edward Mulhall seems to have been the moving spirit in this patriotic and charitable effort. One of the humors of the enterprise was, that while its purpose, amongst others, was to "foment emigration from Ireland to the Plate" it invited, among the very first, Dr. Velez Sarsfield, who had just been saying that the Irish were most undesirable immigrants, to become a member of the club, and the good Don Dalmacio replied with "much pleasure," that he might be counted upon as one to help in bringing out the "dirty, lazy people who were retarding the progress of his country." Buenos Aires was always hard to understand; it was with reason Rivadavia once said that the Porteños were a race of Napolitans. What they enthusiastically applauded or vituperated one day they were quite capable of doing the opposite with in a day or two after, and with all earnestness and sincerity in both cases. But the Porteños of to-day are seemingly much less fickle; like all the world they have set their minds on making money, and the dollar cult makes men conservative. The Prospectus of the society ran:

"The St. Patrick's Society is a charitable and benevolent Society. Its object is to aid and forward the Irish charities of Buenos Aires, to foment emigration from Ireland to the Plate, and to bring the whole Irish community of this Country to unity of action for the furtherance of Irish interests.

"It is, therefore, essentially an Irish Benevolent Society. It freely admits to the right of membership persons of other nationalities who sincerely sympathize with the cause,

and gratefully acknowledge their assistance in carrying out its charitable intentions.

"The Society is, therefore, Irish in its institution, charitable in its object, and Catholic in its scope and aspirations, its motto being those beautiful words of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"'I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you clothed me; sick and you visited me.'"

Although the Society so clearly declares itself Irish and Catholic it had many non-Irish and non-Catholic members, which conditions appear rather contradictory. The furthering of Irish interests was its all-including object, yet the largest benevolent work it did was the helping to bring down from Paraguay to Buenos Aires the sick and starving remnant of the "Lincolnshire Farmers" colony, sought to be established in the Republic up north by some Englishmen. It, however, looked after Irish immigrants and did a great many very useful services. The fundamental declaration of its charter members, with the names of said members are deserving of a place in such a work as this, but for fuller particulars as to workings and continuance in existence, see "Standard" for years 1873-4. Here is its declaration of purpose:

"Know all men by these presents that we, the undersigned have agreed to found in the city of Buenos Aires, a mutual benevolent Society, to be called the 'Saint Patrick's Society,' for the purpose and objects laid down in the by-laws of said Society, this day approved at a general meeting of members, and which said by-laws are here annexed; and we mutually pledge ourselves to conform to all the rules and regulations therein expressed, and to afford to said Society our best support and assistance. In witness whereof we have signed our names hereto, this 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1873.—Thomas Arm-

strong, Richard Lett, Joseph Rodgers, Peter Ham, Edward Morgan, George Morgan, Michael Lowe, R. H. Murray, John Feely, James Barrett, Patricio Moore, James Kenny, Arthur Cowan, Patrick Browne, T. B. Geoghegan, Patrick Ham, John Kiernan, Henry Quinn, F. J. Hore, James Weston, T. St. G. Armstrong, Louis B. Brennan, F. X. Pippet, Patrick Gannon, M. J. Barry, L. M. Brown, John Leavy, John Fulsan, Thomas Duggan, J. B. Leahy, J. N. Larkin, P. T. Creagh, F. H. Mulhall, J. S. W. Leary, P. D. Lynch, Joseph Creagh, Ant. G. Taffe, M. Duggan, James Casey, Michael Crawford, M. G. Mulhall, E. T. Mulhall, John Power, T. B. Coffin, John Kiernan, William Rawson, Dalmacio Velez Sarsfield, Hugh Duggan, Dan Duggan, John Duggan, James Nicholson, J. B. Browne, Michael Hearne, Owen Gahan, J. P. Browne, Dr. Carhart, Patrick Daly, Martin Shine, Edward Caceras, F. Donovan, J. F. Kelly, T. Sheil, M. Murphy, J. B. Gahan, Wm. O'Dwyer, J. A. Fay, Stephen Whitty, J. C. Murtagh, J. T. Murphy, John Feenan, E. D. Tallon, Michael Ryan, Hugh Rourke, John J. Huggard, J. G. Manning, J. Cassidy, E. Moran, Timothy Sullivan, Wm. M. Walsh, James Gaynor, Frederick Dennehy, Samuel O'Reilly, John Moore, Thomas Mullady, Edward Dillon, John Campbell, D. C. Kelly, R. Gibbings, Ed. Hearne, James Cunningham, Thomas Nicholson, E. G. Gahan, Jacob Walsh, William Mackern, Jervaise Carney, Mgr. Curley, L. M. Leahy, Chris. Walsh, E. Flannery, John Murray, John Fox, James Fox, Thomas Dooner, Joseph McAllister, M. Murtagh, Richard Gamble." These were all wealthy and influential men, they all pledged support and assistance, yet the Society broke down in less than two years for want of "support and assistance." Amongst the names of the members of this "Irish Society" it is somewhat curious to find the following: Mitre, Costa, Riverola, Heinrichs, Ollendorff, Plaza, Montero, Haulstaat, Billinghamurst, Krietish and some others.

In Seventy-four the Society brought to the notice of the

Government the lawless state of affairs in the camp districts, the continual murders and robberies of the industrious and law-abiding, and petitioned the Governor to take immediate and effective measures to put down this veritable reign of terror. The petition was signed by almost all the influential and prominent men of the city and province, and did much towards bringing about reforms in the manner of executing the laws in the rural departments. In November, when Father Walsh, who was a Franciscan priest, was transferred by his superiors to Australia, the Society marked its appreciation of his services as secretary by presenting him with a gold watch, a free ticket home and about forty sovereigns. It got into debt the next year, and there were disagreements and huffs and quick abandonment, and plenty of the old cry, "the Irish can agree upon nothing," just as if the Society was Irish in anything but name. Its library and other belongings had to be sold to meet its debts, and after a splendid start and a year or so of most useful work it went under. Wherefore I am not able to say. If it tried to do less it would probably have been able to weather the storm longer, for the storm is one of the things that surely awaits every Irish enterprise that is started in Buenos Aires. If it depended less on the outsider, too, and stuck more to being what it purported to be it would, I think, have done better, it surely would not have done worse. Its failure disgusted many and was often thrown in the face of people who dared attempt any kind of an Irish organization in Buenos Aires for years after. Miss Colclough tells in her history of the Ladies' Irish Benevolent Society, that when her sister and herself were organizing the next attempt at an Irish society, "people told us that if they had millions they would not give one farthing to, or become members of, any Irish society because of St. Patrick's Society having been put down." And again, "Mrs. Brennan (her sister), in ignorance of the excited feeling that existed on the subject of St. Patrick's Society had named ours, the 'Ladies' Irish

Benevolent Society,' but Canon Dillon requested her to change Benevolent into Beneficent." Thus it may be seen that the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society did not die a natural death and that its last days were anything but happy and edifying.

"What you don't see won't trouble you," is a cute old saying, but it sometimes happens that it would be better for one to *see*, for thus might be avoided a worse trouble, later on, than the one the seeing might entail. Mrs. Colclough Brennan when she commenced the founding of the "Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society," had not seen, or had no knowledge, of what had just happened the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society; if she had it might have troubled her a little but it would probably have saved herself and her friends from a prolonged and much heavier trouble. She was a Wexford woman, had conducted a college in Manchester, England, for some time, came to Buenos Aires in 1869, and opened a young ladies' college at the corner of Maipu and what is now Lavelle. In 1875 she got suddenly possessed of the idea of establishing an Irish ladies' society. From the fact that her husband had died a couple of years after her arrival in the country and that her business lay mostly with Argentine families she had little intercourse with her own country people, and knew hardly anything about the questions and controversies they had been trying to solve and settle for many years before. Her idea was the forming of a society to build an Irish Church, establish a boys' Orphanage, an English school, a hall, reading rooms, a home for poor Irish women, and in short do everything, and a little more, that the St. Patrick's Society proposed doing, with all its millionaire members and backers, but which it so signally and suddenly failed in. Both societies sprang into power and prominence with a rapidity and enthusiasm which their founders in the beginning had not dared to hope for, and the inevitable reaction met the two at about the same stage of their existence. The ladies' organization, whether because of feminine

tenacity, or the fact that they had not disbursed their funds, and had no debts to meet, held out, after a manner, much longer than the masculine creation had succeeded in doing, but its latter years were years of struggle, dreary and hopeless. Troubles about funds, accusations and divisions made such headway in the Society and got so talked of publicly that Miss Colclough felt it a duty in '79 to write a history of the Society, and publish a very complete Balance Sheet. The little book is now very scarce. Here is how it opens :

LADIES' IRISH BENEFICENT SOCIETY

The Society now so favourably known as the Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society sprung into existence on the 25th of March, 1875, the Feast of the Incarnation.

The first members of this Society had been for some time contemplating organising efforts for obtaining the universally desired spiritual consolation of having a Catholic Church, the Priests of which would all speak English, the special devotions, sermons, catechetical instructions and customs would all be English, and the very edifice belong to the Priests and to the congregation.

The difficulties experienced by their Priest, Archdeacon Dillon, on the St. Patrick's Day preceding, regarding a Church in which to celebrate the Commemoration Mass of Ireland's Patron, decided them on immediately taking steps to accomplish the desired object. The necessity of an Orphanage for Boys, and of English Catholic Schools for Boys—rich and poor—was looked upon by Archdeacon Dillon as no less necessary, and, with the hopefulness of ladies, it was not doubted that funds would pour in for such laudable objects. The members, therefore, foreseeing that in a short time the Church and Boys' Schools would be fully established, added to the programme of their Society the institution of a Home for Married Women with (or without) children. The works of the institution of the Sisters of Mercy are most admirable and most necessary boons to the Irish—to have a Catholic home for poor orphan girls, an hospital for men and women, a house of mercy for respectable unmarried women and servants, and a Catholic boarding and day school for those who can pay; but a poor married woman, with two or three small children depending on her, is no less an object of sympathy, and the ladies of the Ladies'

Irish Beneficent Society, being all in more or less independent circumstances and having many relations, can materially assist those poor women.

The above named objects having become dear to the hearts of the originators, the Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society was instituted by them, to aid and assist the Irish Mission in this city. The Very Rev. Archdeacon Dillon lent it his earnest support and council. The programme was laid before the Archbishop, and fully explained to him: he gave it his sanction and entire approbation. The Very Rev. Archdeacon Dillon, as Irish Parish Priest, is its patron and protector. The ladies of the Society propose devoting themselves to aid in supplying the most pressing exigencies of the English-speaking Catholic community in Buenos Aires, by every means in Ladies' power, and beyond the reach and beneath the dignity of a priest. Some have thought that it has been by mistake that the Society has been named the Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society, instead of the Irish Ladies' Beneficent Society. It has not been so. The majority of those who will benefit by the accomplishment of the objects of the Society is undoubtedly Irish; but English, Scotch and North American Catholics are equally anxious for an English Catholic Church, and have united together with the Irish ladies. The Argentine and foreign ladies have also warmly sympathised with the Society's efforts. It would, therefore, be neither just nor grateful to call the society the Irish Ladies' Beneficent Society.

The programme of the Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society was publicly read by Cuthbert Shoolbred, Esq., at the First Annual Conference of the Society, held by kind permission in the palace of Don Juan Anchorena, 68 Calle Corrientes, May 27, 1875, in the presence of a large and important assembly, and under the protection of the Very Rev. Archdeacon Dillon.

The name of the reader of the programme is not very Irish looking, nor is that of the owner of "the palace" in which the reading and the "important assembly" took place. One of the notions which our society makers then and for many a year after could never get away from was, that it was absolutely necessary to have as many as possible who were not Irish in these Irish societies. The result was always failure.

The first officers of the Society were Mrs. Brennan,

President; Miss Justa Armstrong, Treasurer; and Miss Margaret Colclough, Secretary. The Society held a concert in the Coliseum in August and a Grand Bazaar in September. Both were unprecedented successes, President Avellaneda and Mrs. Avellaneda taking part in the latter. The Bazaar brought jealousies among the ladies, as such things usually do. Some people being said to have been made too much of while others were neglected. There were difficulties, too, about the accounts, and objections were raised to closing the Bazaar with a dance. Dean Dillon refused, for some reason or other, to turn over to the Society, or lodge in bank in its name, a large sum of money subscribed, and as a result of the Bazaar, and duly proceeded to dissolve the Society. Mrs. Avellaneda and her friend, Mrs. Blanco, invited some dozen or so of the ladies to the house of the latter on a Sunday afternoon Canon Dillon also came. Mrs. Avellaneda announced that she had a proposition of Canon Dillon's to make, and it was to this effect, that the money of the Irish Society be divided on the Irish Nuns, the newly arrived Irish immigrants, and the Irish poor of the city. Mrs. Brennan, President and Founder of the Society, invoked the statutes as an impassable barrier to Mrs. Avellaneda's motion, and Canon Dillon replied that the Society should be dissolved on that very moment. He demanded a vote on the question, notwithstanding Mrs. Brennan's protest, and as he asked the ladies separately for their vote, Mrs. Bent answered him that he wanted to auction this Society as he did the St. Patrick's Society. There was a Spanish Friar at the meeting, representing Father Burke, O. P., and who took the part of the Ladies strengthening them so against the attacks of the Canon that the meeting had to break up without anything being resolved. Next issue of the "Southern Cross," Canon Dillon's paper, had the following editorial announcement:

"The Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society, in compliance with the wish of their priest, the Irish, as well as native ladies, who formed the

Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society, have come to the conclusion to dissolve the Society for the present. The times are bad and unfavourable. The clergyman in charge of the mission here returns his sincere thanks to all the ladies who kindly assisted him when called upon to do so, and who have again expressed themselves to be, what they always were, obedient to the voice of their pastor.

The articles which remained in charge of Canon Dillon, since the last Bazaar held by the Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society, will be sold, and the proceeds given to the Irish Sisters of Mercy to help to support the many orphans under their care. (Aug. 24, 1876.)

The "Standard" of the next Sunday had the following notice:

Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society—The Ladies of the above Society beg to correct an error made in the Southern Cross of Thursday, last, which was, that they had come to the conclusion of dissolving the Society for the present. This rumour is likely to cause the Society much inconvenience, as it may give rise to the idea that the Society's Bazaar is postponed, which is impossible, although there be a crisis, as the articles on their hands would become valueless by lying by.

The Ladies conclude by assuring their patrons that the Society has neither dissolved itself nor had any idea of doing so.

From this on was fought a bitter war between the Society and its opponents. Some people took sides to such an unreasonable extent, and said such hard and uncharitable things as would be scarcely believable if we had not the experience of the recent and unfinished Irish Catholic Association quarrel to convince us of the possibilities of such controversies. Notwithstanding all, the Society struggled on and held a Bazaar which Canon Dillon and his friends opposed with more spirit than good taste and Christian charity. It was something of a success, everything considered, but, of course, nothing to be compared to the one of the previous year. Of that one, September, 1875, the "Tribune" wrote: "We believe that not a single family of position in this city will refuse to assist at this charitable reunion. The Irish from the day they land in the country

make themselves liked for their industry and honorable conduct. The Irishman does not come to exploit, he makes himself of the country, marries and settles down for good. Rarely does a rich Irishman leave the country; there is a mutual regard between Irishmen and Argentines. And how could it be otherwise? South America can never forget the Irish heroes who contributed to conquer its rights, consolidate peace, and further constitutional and republican interests. Honor then to the noble and generous countrymen and descendants of O'Brien, Devereux, O'Higgins, MacKenna, and Brown! Prosperity to the Ladies' Irish Beneficent Society!"

Dean Dillon when about to leave for Ireland, on Government business, in 1881, made up his differences with the Ladies and handed them over the bank book which had been such a prolific source of scandal, bitterness and enmity among the Irish community for the previous five or six years. The whole deposit amounted to less than one thousand dollars, gold. The Ladies had won out after a miserable wrangle that did more harm, and created more scandal and disgust amongst our people than even the case of the Irish Hospital. No doubt there was a good deal of fault on both sides of the quarrel, and it is not for me to say which one had the greater share. The Archbishop was friendly to the Ladies and it is strange that he did not see to having Canon Dillon come to something like a working agreement with them.

In all the fine talk and notions about Churches, Schools, Orphanages, Homes, etc., there was not a thought or expression of true Irish national principle. It was just one more of those unnatural creations of the "all creeds, all classes" order, honestly enough conceived, perhaps, but always impossible of achieving any lasting and real success, especially in religious and social affairs. The following little paragraph, descriptive of the Bazaar-hall decorations, will let in all the light that will be necessary to the taking of the measure of this *Irish* Society and its friends, in so far

as Irish principle went. The date is before it split up in factions:

“The view presented in the interior of the Coliseum on some of the busier evenings of the Bazaar was extremely striking and animated. The ladies had shown a refined and artistic taste in the decoration; there was an harmonious blending of colors on all sides, with the absence of anything to offend the eye with gaud and glitter. The harp of Erin mingled in amicable folds with the Argentine blue and white, and the Union Jack of old England, hung in graceful festoons at either extremities of the Hall.” Imagine the “refined artistic taste,” the “harmonious blending,” and the “amicable blending!” The English flag in such a place is nothing less than an unpardonable insult to every intelligent and self-respecting Irishman invited there, while to Englishmen of the same order, and similarly invited, the Irish flag ought to be no less an affront, unless they take it, as they usually do, as a toleration, on their part, of a silly play-toy to keep “Paddy” in humor.

Here is a list of the ladies who formed the Society at its inception: Councillors, Mesdames Avellaneda, Fernandes Blanco, Bowers, Patrick Browne, Coverton, Cranwell, Davis, G. Dillon, E. Dillon, Latham, Maxwell and Miss O’Mara Brennan. Active and honorary members: Msdmes. Anderson, Bent, Boneo, Brennan, Cambaceres, Canevá, Cardenas, M. O’Connor, Cullen, Cunningham, Dos, Deckleman, Douthat, Delemere, E. Daly, Dundson, Doynel, Fastrich, Fay, Flood, Furlong, Gomez, Gowland, Hovel, Howard, Hyde, Hansen, Hansen, Harelaos, Hines, Joseph Kiernan, T. Kenny, Lascombs, Moore, McBrittain, S. T. D. Murphy, Naughten, O’Curry, Porter, Quintana, Quirk, Shine, Suffern de Smith, Tregent, Terries. Misses Azabala, L. E. Ball, Brennan, Bent, F. Brown, M. Brown, A. Browne, A. Butler, L. Butler, K. Butler, Christiane, M. O’Connor, Conyngham, M. E. Dillon, Conyngham, Douthat, Conyngham, H. Erhart, M. Erhart, M. Griffin, M. Graham, B. Gannon, M. Griffin (San Pedro), E. Hayes, F. Hayes, K. Hines, Killcen,

Kavanagh, K. A. Kelly, Kavanagh, Latham, Kavanagh, Lennon, Mahon, Lennon, Murphy, Murray, Middleton, McBrittain, A. McComb, F. McComb, E. McLoughlin, M. M'Guire, B. M'Guire, K. Murray, S. M'Goey, Pilloca, M. Ryan, D. Ryan, A. Rourke, M. Rourke, Kate Whelan. Lady subscribers of various sums: Mesdames Dillon, Monte, Dheil, Devereux, Murphy, Delemere. Misses B. Leavy, E. Boswell, Mary Bowes, Julia Ivers, Deleany, J. Castro, M. Smith, N. Naughten, K. Ennis, C. Scally, K. A. Tormey, A. Farrell, K. Leavy, M. Martin, M. Malone, Cleary, M. Spallen, C. Ward, J. Leavy, A. Taaffe, W. Dillon, Mary Griffin, M'Cue, E. Tippin, R. Ronan, B. O'Neill. Collectors: Mesdames O'Curry, D. Murphy, McBrittain, Douthat, Conroy, Bowers, Misses Anchorena, E. Killeen, A. Rourke, M. Rourke, K. Hayes, E. Hayes, A. Fantana, S. Huergo, M. Mullady, M. Pico, P. Pico, T. Esteves, R. Mamery, O'M. Renan, A. Renan, S. Iturrios.

While it may be noticed that many of the names in the foregoing list are not Irish, it is to be borne in mind that many of the wealthy Irish and Irish-Argentine ladies of the time married into families other than of their own people.

The years Sixty-nine and Seventy were years of great depression, and things were unusually bad with camp people. In the latter year the Sisters of Mercy began to receive subscriptions for the Irish Orphanage; previous to then they supported it out of their own resources. I do not mean by this that thenceforward it was maintained by subscriptions, but simply that the Nuns were helped in that work by subscriptions. Owen Lynch subscribed \$950.m/c. that year, and his is the first subscription, reported expressly for that purpose that has come within my knowledge. The Sisters were then collecting also for their Irish Girls' Home, but in Seventy-seven they announced that they did not seek any more subscriptions for that institution, as it was then almost self-supporting, and the little it lacked in that direction was supplied by voluntary contributions, chiefly from Argentines and from English Protestants. In the following

year they opened a school on their own account at Calle Solis 112. Same year they acknowledged receipt of \$2745.m/c., for the Irish Orphanage handed to them by Father John Leahy, and collected by Patrick Maxwell, from the following: Patrick Mara, Ed. Casey, M. Sarterana, Patrick Ward, M. M'Cormack, Owen M'Cormack, Mrs. Kenny, James Browne, Thomas Wallace, Michael Gannon, Patrick Deane, P. Bates, Patrick Wade, Peter Burke, Thomas Mara, Michael Kean, Ed. Robbins, Bernard Daly, John Killeen, Patrick Kenny, Patrick Wallace, Ed. Gallagher, William Gilligan, Ed. Moran, John Cleary, John Mahon, John Tippin, Margaret Maxwell, M. Dunne, Bernard Dignan, William Barry, John Keenahan, James Egan, John Slavin, John Lynn, Alex Gilligan, M. Ann Rurke, D. M'Carthy, John Wallace, John Scally, Patrick Maxwell. In Seventy-nine there were various small collections acknowledged by the Sisters, that of Miss A. Gardiner, \$3545.m/c. being the largest. With this year closed the first mission of the Irish Sisters of Mercy in Argentina. The orphan children in their charge at the time they left for Australia were placed with the French Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul. The sale of some property they held realized about \$3000, gold, and they empowered two gentlemen to liquidate their other affairs. On February 8, 1880, they sailed away, and the Irish Convent, after twenty-four years of inestimable service to the Irish people of Buenos Aires, was closed. The author of the "Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy" seems to think the authorities of the country in some way responsible for this untimely termination of their mission, but in this she is altogether at variance with Father Martin Byrne, the press of Buenos Aires, the Archbishop, and tradition.

The Irish are a race of optimists. In the old land our people have lived, so to speak, on faith and hope for many ages. Ten generations of savage assault on their religious faith cannot be said, in truth, to have had any effect on their feelings towards that faith save to inspire them to cling more steadfastly to it. Twice that number of genera-

tions, and more, of war and every known order of persecution and penalization against their national creed and aspirations have not in the least changed their belief and hope that their country will yet "take her place among the nations of the world." So that Pearse last year, Emmet a hundred years before, Phelim O'Neill a century-and-a-half earlier still, and all the others who like them proclaimed their faith and hope with their life-blood were but fulfilling the inspired pledge made to Rome by Donal O'Neill six hundred years ago. Our nation has lost much, but it has saved much, and it never willingly gave up anything that it was to the honor of the race to hold. Despair and surrender are not of our way, whatever other faults we may have. But this is a somewhat high and far-fetched introduction to a very small matter, and my excuse for indulging in these reflections, which may seem not altogether relevant, is that they help to vary the narrative, that it is a holy and a wholesome practice to keep in mind some of the principal articles of our political faith, with the names of its saints, and that one of the best of our characteristics, as a people, should not alone be asserted, but also proved, and having said this much, to the past be the past, and back to the men and events of our own day and our local surroundings.

The failure of the Irish Hospital with its trustees and committees, the sudden disruption of the St. Patrick's Society, the divisions and bitter strife that obtained in the Ladies' Society do not seem to have in the least discouraged those who believed that the Irish of Buenos Aires ought to be united, and ought to have a strong organization to assert their rights and safeguard and defend all their interests. With this end in view a meeting was called at Larroudet's Hotel, Plaza Once, on March 1, 1879. Here is the purpose of the meeting as published: "To organize the Irish citizens into a body to secure representation in the Legislature of the Province, and fuller representation on local boards and commissions." There were present, Ed. Casey, M. Hearne,

John Moore, L. Garraghan, Patrick Ham, J. Murphy, Ed. Murphy, J. B. Gahan, J. P. Browne, Mr. Dillon, W. D. Lowe (Herald), F. H. Mulhall (S. Cross), W. Cook, J. Cowes, Mr. Ramsay, C. Davis, J. Dowling, Mr. Kelly, F. Dennehy, and many others. Edward Casey presided and Canon Dillon acted as secretary. There were many speeches. Father Dillon dwelt on the great wealth and importance of the Irish in Buenos Aires Province, and how little power they had even in things that were so much to their interest. Mr. Lowe approved the proposition strongly, saying he had been advocating in his paper for years such a movement on the part of the Irish. Letters of approval and adhesion were read from Dr. Nelson, Ed. Tormey, James McGuire, J. Dick, P. Wallace, M. Tyrrell, P. Lawler, James Martin, James Reardon, Joseph Fox, and H. N. Thompson. David Suffern moved and J. Murphy seconded: "That a club be formed to carry out the ideas expressed in the circular, to push the registration of the voters and to treat with other political centers about putting forward one candidate or more at the next election." A committee was then formed to carry out this proposal, made up thus: Ed. Casey, President, Ed. Murphy, V.P.; Archdeacon Dillon, Sec.; Charles Davis, Second Sec.; P. Ham, Treasurer. Committee: E. Ham, L. Garraghan, D. Suffern, J. Murphy, W. Cook, Owen Gahan, John Moore, J. B. Gahan, Ed. Tormey, J. P. Browne. These officers and committee lost no time in going into action, and in April, under the name of the General Brown Club, issued a manifesto proclaiming the objects they aimed at, which were all round reform, and in an especial manner reform of the criminal tribunals and their mode of procedure; also protection and encouragement for immigrants; and the moral and material uplift of the "paisano." It further called for a general meeting to ratify the Club and its objects, this meeting to be held on April 26 at the Hotel Anchorena, in Calle Corrientes. The meeting called came off duly; there were some three hundred members present; the Committee's proposals

were ratified, and its members, with a few additions, named to direct the organization for the year entered upon. In December, preparing for the elections to take place in the following year, it published a platform to be worked for by its members and their friends. Its scope was national and provincial. Let me name some of the reforms it sought to bring about, as given in its programme: 1st. Reform of Commercial Code; 2nd. Reduction of export duties; 3rd. Reform of navigation laws, light-houses and lazaretos; 4th. Fostering of immigration; 5th. Public economy. The foregoing had to do with national affairs, here are some of its proposals for the Province: 1st. Promulgation of Municipal regime in camp and city, without prejudice to the reforms required by the latter; 2nd. Completion of City Improvements; 3rd. Trial by jury in criminal cases; 4th. More public roads; 5th. Provincial Bank reform; 6th. Security for life and property in the camp; 7th. Reform of tax on consumers; 8th. Economy in public expenditure. Whatever, if any, may have been the shortcomings of the General Brown Club, a want of ambition was not any of them. The high and worthy ends it set before it to accomplish were entirely in keeping with the honored name it chose for itself.

Some of the minor events of the Seventy-Eighty decade which may be worth recording in condensed form are: Canon Dillon made a trip home in '70; O'Brien was Superintendent of the building of the first tramways in Buenos Aires in '71; Engineer Coughlan was appointed head of the Department of Bridges and Highways of the Province same year; John Butler and John Mooney, pioneer Irish sheepfarmers, died in '71 and '73, respectively. Mooney was among the first comers and was a *saladerista*, he is said to be the man who started the big emigration from Westmeath to Buenos Aires. The pupils at the Irish Convent gave a dramatic performance in Seventy-three and chose a play with the very "respectable" and "classy" title of "Gwendoline and King Alfred." I do not know just what

the play may have been like, but I take it that it appealed strongly to the young ladies who acted and audienced it and that it is responsible almost wholly for the numerous Alfreds and "Alfreditos" which we find in Irish Argentine families to-day. The lady in the case cannot have appealed to their fancy so touchingly for I have no recollection of having met an Irish-Argentine Gwendoline so far. Whatever our troubles at present may be, with our "Soldier's-Funds" people and our wealthy "Britanicos," with Ballynacarrigy names, we have got on something in our schools, at least, from the "English Constitution" and "King Alfred." In March, 1874, the Archbishop made the following appointments and confirmations of previous appointments among the Irish Chaplains: Canon Dillon to be Irish Chaplain of Buenos Aires City; James Curran to that of Navarro, Monte and Saladillo; Patrick Lynch to that of Mercedes and Chivilcoy; M. L. Leahy and J. B. Leahy to that of Carmen de Areco, Salto, Rojas and Chacabuco; William Grennon to that of Capilla del Señor and Zarate; Thomas Mullady to that of San Antonio de Areco, Giles and Baradero; Edmund Flannery to that of San Pedro, Arrecifes, Pergamino and San Nicolas; John J. Curley to that of Chascomus, Ranchos and southern parishes; Samuel O'Reilly to that of Lujan, Pilar, Moreno and Merlo.

On the "Feast of All Saints" Canon Dillon issued a circular stating that he was about to found a "Weekly Catholic Newspaper in the English language." The following is a paragraph from the circular: "To supply the want of an Irish and Catholic organ in the country 'The Southern Cross' will appear on the 1st of January. I hope the paper will be found on the table of every Irish and English house in the Argentine Confederation. I have already experienced the love you bear to your Religion and the Land of your Fathers, and, consequently, count upon you for support. The tone of the paper will be liberal (like the Freeman of Dublin). The paper will not adhere to any particular party in this country. The events of the week will be narrated with those comments which proceed from

a strictly impartial pen. The paper will contain general Irish, English and North American news, and the Catholic news of the world, as well as the news of the country in which we live. To be enabled to do this, I have already appointed correspondents in Dublin, Rome and New York." The paper was to cost twenty dollars a month, about two dollars, present currency. It came duly as promised in the circular. Mr. Barry assisted the Canon at first in getting out the paper, and later Frank H. Mulhall became its editor and manager, under Father Dillon. It appears to have found it pretty hard to get on, and there were many complaints of its lack of enterprise and usefulness as a newspaper, in its first years. Mr. Mulhall retired from its service in October '79. I should mention that in the year 1870, Mr. W. Connolly started an Irish paper called the "Weekly Telegraph." It lasted only about two years. For some time the "Southern Cross" was published in the office of "The Standard" and at its inception the Mulhalls were very friendly towards it and gave it every encouragement. In the middle Seventies there was a strong revival of Irish emigration to Argentina, especially from Westmeath.

After a residence of nearly sixty years, Thomas Armstrong, the famous Irish merchant, banker, estanciero and manufacturer, died, June 10, 1875. Armstrong was one of the most successful business men that ever came to Buenos Aires. He was a trusted friend and counsellor of almost every Argentine governmental administration from the Directorship of Rodriguez to the Presidency of Avellaneda. He lived and died a Protestant, but no man ever did more to help and advance his Catholic fellow-countrymen than he, and the Irish charitable and other institutions of the city had no friend, through all his life, so generous as he was. It may be said with all confidence, that without Thomas Armstrong, Father Fahey could not have established and maintained the Irish charitable institutions of his time. He was of the family of "Shears Armstrong,"

although not a descendant of the betrayer of the patriot brothers. His daughters who were half Argentine in blood, and wholly so in birth and associations, married into some of the leading families of their country. His son, T. St. George Armstrong, married in Portugal and became a noble of that Kingdom. I suppose, now that Portugal is a Republic, he has become plain Mr. Armstrong. Like their father, the Armstrong family took a warm interest in all local Irish affairs.

Dr. Gibbings, another of the early Irish settlers died a year after Armstrong. He commenced sheep-farming in Ranchos in the days of Sheridan and Harrat and like these acquired fame as a breeder of sheep. When President Mitre went to Ranchos to found the Parish Church there he was entertained at Gibbings' estancia. Gibbings was a Corkman and a Protestant he served the Argentine Government in various capacities, and a good story is told of his trying one time to serve a writ on Bishop Medrano. It appears there was some difficulty in finding an Argentine to serve the document on the Bishop. Gibbings had no scruples in the matter. He was told that he would find the prelate at the Catalanes restaurant at lunchtime every day, and that he would know him as the ugliest man in the place. Gibbings looked around and selected Thomas Armstrong. The rich merchant protested that he was not a bishop nor in any way liable before the courts. It was no use, the writ was for the ugliest man in the place, and Gibbings swore that he was not only the ugliest man in the place but the ugliest in all Buenos Aires.

In Seventy-seven Father Savino published the following report which goes to show that our people in the camp were expected to do more than support their own clergy: "Having been instructed by His Grace the Archbishop of this Diocese to collect from the Irish estancieros of this Province subscriptions towards the building of two schools which are about to be founded in Patagonia for the conversion and civilization of the Indians, I will now beg you to publish

the list of subscribers, thanking in the name of His Grace, the Archbishop, as well as on my own part, the Irish community which themselves above all others by their spirit of piety and charity and who render this mission ever grateful to them, calling down upon themselves, at the same time, more abundantly the blessings of Almighty God. I also sincerely thank the Irish Chaplains who by their charity and zeal have helped so much in a work which is so greatly to the glory of God and so beneficent to the country." Then follow the names of two hundred and twenty-eight subscribers from the partidos of Giles, San Antonio, Baradero and Bragado who contributed \$20,193.m/c. At this time the Irish Hospital was dying for want of support, and the fact reminds me that while certain Irish charitable institutions which we have to-day are languishing for want of support, and while the Salvation Army are picking up and proselytizing Irish-Argentine children on the streets of Buenos Aires and Rosario, tens of thousands of dollars are collected amongst us for the propagation of the Faith among black, brown and yellow tribes beyond the seas, as also for the support and comfort of mighty England's plundering armies. Here in Argentina we seem to have always had some queer notions as to duty, charity and patriotism. It is hard to place the responsibility for these peculiar notions; in such matters we have for long been more or less divided and straying. Since the death of Father Fahey we have had no such thing as a leader of any great influence, but an abundance of small caliber, would-be chieftains who each grinds his own ax as best he can, hence we do little of real good for ourselves as a community and are victimized by many.

Canon Dillon, at this time, went to Paraguay to recover his health, and on his return an appeal had to be made by some of his friends to the people of the camp to help in his support, as the Irish in the city were not contributing sufficient to keep him. (See newspapers of September, '77.) This seems a very strange case, for Canon Dillon, in so

far as I have been able to discover, was always much more popular with the rich than with the poor among his countrymen, and at that time there was a very considerable number of the two classes of our people in the Capital. With the Irish, unlike other nationalities here, it would appear that the poor and people of medium circumstances are a much better dependence for the support of a Chaplain than the very wealthy. The necessity of such an appeal as this one would lead one to believe that the Canon did not measure up to the type of priest to whom the term *Sagairt aruin* is sincerely applied by the Irish. He was too much in politics for a city Chaplain.

One of the Franciscan Missionaries made public at this time a strange story of a little Irish-Argentine boy whom he found captive with the Indians. The boy had been carried away in a raid on the neighboring settlement by the Tandil tribes, and in his three years of captivity had lost nearly all of the Spanish he knew, and to add to his difficulty in telling about himself to the Friar, he had a bad stammer. He was only seven or eight years of age when carried away by the wild men, and as well as the priest could make out his name was Peter O'Hara. His captors would give him up for a price, and Father Donati appealed for the amount to the Irish people. On St. Patrick's Day, 1879, Father John Purcell celebrated his first Mass at the Merced Church. He was ordained in Buenos Aires, and afterwards served as Irish Chaplain in Capilla del Señor. In Seventy-nine the fencing in of estancia lands by their proprietors was a question before the legislature, and was, strange as it may seem, sturdily opposed by the estancieros, who felt that the proposed enactment, if past, and enforced, would be ruinous to many of them. It had its origin, probably, in some little attempt at political jobbery. The General Brown Club made the defeat of the scheme one of its principal objects; it may, consequently, be taken as a proposal that would, if carried into effect,

be particularly harmful to the Irish sheep-farmers. The project failed.

In June the Archbishop called a meeting of Irish Catholics to take into consideration the religious and educational wants of the Irish people in the rural districts. The meeting appointed a committee to report on the matter and adjourned to the 16th of the following month. Michael Carroll and James Browne were president and secretary, respectively, of the committee. When the meeting in July assembled it resolved as follows:

"1st. That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to form some permanent organization representing the Irish Catholic community of the city and province of Buenos Aires, with a view to make better provision for the religious and educational wants of said community.

"2nd. That the Committee hereafter to be named, be, and is hereby, authorized to appeal for subscriptions to the Irish people in town and camp with a view to a guarantee fund for the purposes aimed at in the first resolution.

"3rd. That the first duty of the Committee acting in conjunction with His Grace the Archbishop, be to endeavor to introduce a community of Irish priests, to aid those already here in the religious and secular education of the Irish population, and if possible to provide also a more adequate system of education for the daughters of Irish residents.

"4th. That the Committee to be named at this meeting be appointed from year to year, one-third of the number retiring each year by rotation, but being eligible for re-election, and that proper steps be taken to obtain legal status for the Committee in representation of the Irish Community, and with a view to holding properties or monies in trust for same, and that the number of town members be limited to six.

"5th. That the Archbishop of Buenos Aires for the time being be honorary president of the Committee, and that

several Irish Chaplains, now resident here and in the camp, be honorary members of the same.

"6th. That the Committee be empowered to elect a President, Vice-President and Secretary from their own numbers.

"7th. That the following persons be named members of the first Committee hereby appointed to carry out the objects indicated in the preceding resolutions, with power to add to their numbers, viz.:

"For Buenos Aires: M. Duggan, M. Carroll, E. Casey, E. T. Mulhall, Thomas Duggan, and J. P. Browne. For the Camp—Suipacha: L. King, T. Kenny. Salto: Wm. Murphy, Peter Hyland. Navarro: Owen Gahan, James Carthy. Chascomus: Thomas Mahon, Robert Wilson. Baradero: Nicolas Clancy, Michael Brennan. Ramallo: John Connor. Chacabuco: Michael Allen, James Casey. Lujan: John Browne, William Casey. Mercedes: M. Tyrrell, Wm. Cleary. San Antonio: P. O'Neill, John Duggan. Giles: Edward Morgan, John Cunningham. Capilla del Señor: Edward Tormey, Edward Culligan, Edward Lennon. San Pedro: John Harrington, L. Doyle. Carmen de Areco: John Dowling, T. Maguire. Rojas: P. Murphy, Michael Tormey. Pergamino: J. Fox, Michael Farrell. Pavon: Richard Hammond, Nicholas Hogan. Mar Chiquita: David Fahey, Michael Reddy. 25 de Mayo: Ed. Dennehy, James Kavanagh. 9 de Julio: A. Kilmurray, Eugene Keenan. Saladillo: Michael Elliff, Wm. Leyden. Pila: T. Daly. Arrecifes: James Cunningham, P. Martin. Ranchos: R. Slammon. Ensenada: D. Daly. Chivilcoy: M. Hearne, Patrick Ronan, Patrick Green. Moreno: James Reilly. Marcos Paz: John Murphy. This Committee to immediately commence organizing a general subscription throughout the districts in which there were Irish settlements." The meeting discussed the expected retirement of the Sisters of Mercy from the country and expressed a wish that they would reconsider their decision, many present promising, on this contingency, more generous support of

their efforts than in the past; a resolution of thanks to them was also voted. The foregoing list of district representatives is a pretty safe index of the localities wherein Irish settlers were plentiful, and of who were the most prominent amongst them at the end of the Seventies. In '71, J. S. O'Farrell, previously head of the Gas Company and President of the Irish National Society, went to Rosario to establish a whisky distillery. Dr. Pecan, the old and popular Irish physician of Buenos Aires, came here from London in 1875. Dr. Daniel Donovan, son of Dr. Cornelius Donovan of the Irish Hospital of the Famine period, was called to the bar this year. The old house at the corner of Reconquista and Cangallo where Father Fahey lived for more than a quarter of a century was sold by a mortgage bank same year. It used to be called "Father Fahey's Corner." Many a wealthy Irishman's career of good fortune started in a bit of plain fatherly advice in that old house, or rather in its modest upstairs apartments. In 1878 Edward Mulhall visited Ireland and wrote a very interesting series of articles of travel for his paper, some of which he headed "Rambles in Ireland." Thirty years later another Irish editor in Buenos Aires, William Bulfin, followed pretty much the same course and called his work "Rambles in Erin." The latter was probably quite unconscious that he was in many places following in the footsteps of the former and sometimes almost copying him. Fathers McDonnell and Southwell of the Carmelite Order and Father Martin Byrne of the Passionist Order came to Buenos Aires in '79. They were, I believe, the first priests who came from Ireland on a collecting mission. The latter in addition to collecting founded the Passionist Order in this country, and his efforts, sojourn, recall, persecution and vindication will be dealt with in my next chapter.

CHAPTER XXII

FOUNDING OF THE PASSIONIST ORDER IN BUENOS AIRES—PAMPHLET THEREON
BY LEADING IRISH-ARGENTINES—COMMENTS, ETC.

DR. ANEIROS, the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, was a man truly zealous for the forwarding and securing of the religious interests of all his flock, and he had a very special care for that part of it made up by the Irish immigrants and their children. It was this solicitude which impelled him, in the year 1877, to write an urgent and detailed request to the Archbishop of Dublin for a community of Irish priests who would establish themselves in Buenos Aires, and devote themselves to the religious and secular education of the Irish settlers and their descendants in Argentina, and which again, in 1879, urged him to call the meeting of Irish Catholics to which reference is made towards the conclusion of the last chapter. A letter he wrote to Rome about the time of the meeting in Buenos Aires, which he called, is important as showing his interest in our people, and for other reasons, and I give it here following:

LETTER TO CARDINAL NINA, PAPAL SECRETARY OF STATE

Buenos Aires, 25th June, 1879.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal:

My great and special predilection for the Irish people resident in this Archdiocese induces me to write this letter, which, I hope, will merit your consideration and approval.

The number of Irish in this Province is about 28,000 and they are scattered over a superficies of about 7,400 leagues; by reason of the pastoral life which they lead, the families live at a considerable distance from one another. This is a great difficulty in the way of their spiritual assistance, although ten Irish priests are engaged in it. It is a

well-known fact that the Irish population is undergoing a great change in their customs and ideas, and this change, particularly among the young of both sexes, is causing serious alarm for their spiritual good.

The position of the Irish is rendered more critical by the fact that they have accumulated immense wealth by their industry.

The future of the Irish is sad if a timely remedy be not brought to them. Missions are most necessary in the camp, in order that the people may be instructed in the faith, and taught to practice its most holy precepts.

It is necessary also to provide for the education of the rising generation of both sexes. If there can be found in Ireland a religious community of men who dedicate themselves to missions and education, by sending three or four of them here at once, we can immediately begin the holy work.

In case it should be difficult to find a Congregation who dedicate themselves to missions and education, it would be well to procure members of two different communities: the one specially for missions, the other for schools.

These are my wishes, and if I should be so happy as to be in a position to realize them, I am convinced that an incomparable good would be effected for this most deserving population. In order that a permanent good may result from the work of missions among this people, the presence of a religious community is necessary, because no matter how zealously the secular clergy may labour individually, no matter what sacrifices they may make, each one cannot attend to all, nor do all they might desire to do.

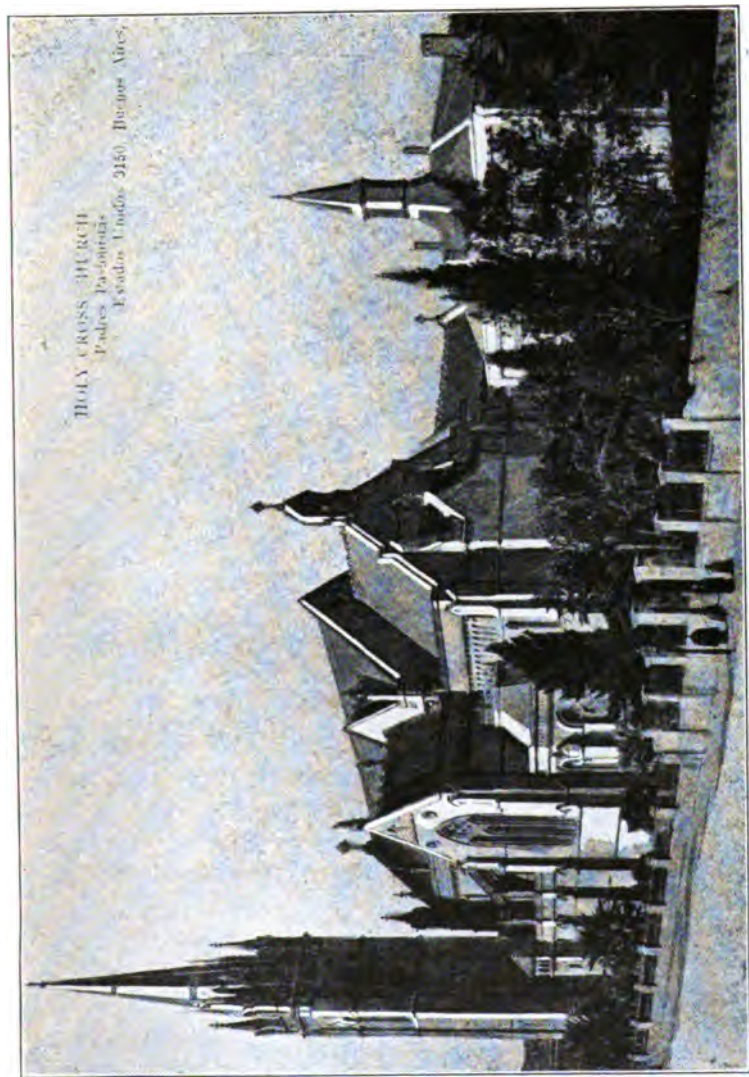
The Irish people are deserving of all possible care. If your eminence will kindly take into consideration what I have written, and interest yourself in favor of this work, you will do a great act of charity, and leave to posterity a monument of your zeal in the purity of the life of this people.

The necessary funds to pay the passages and establish the religious Orders of both sexes in this Archdiocese will be ready whenever Your Eminence will favour me with an answer.

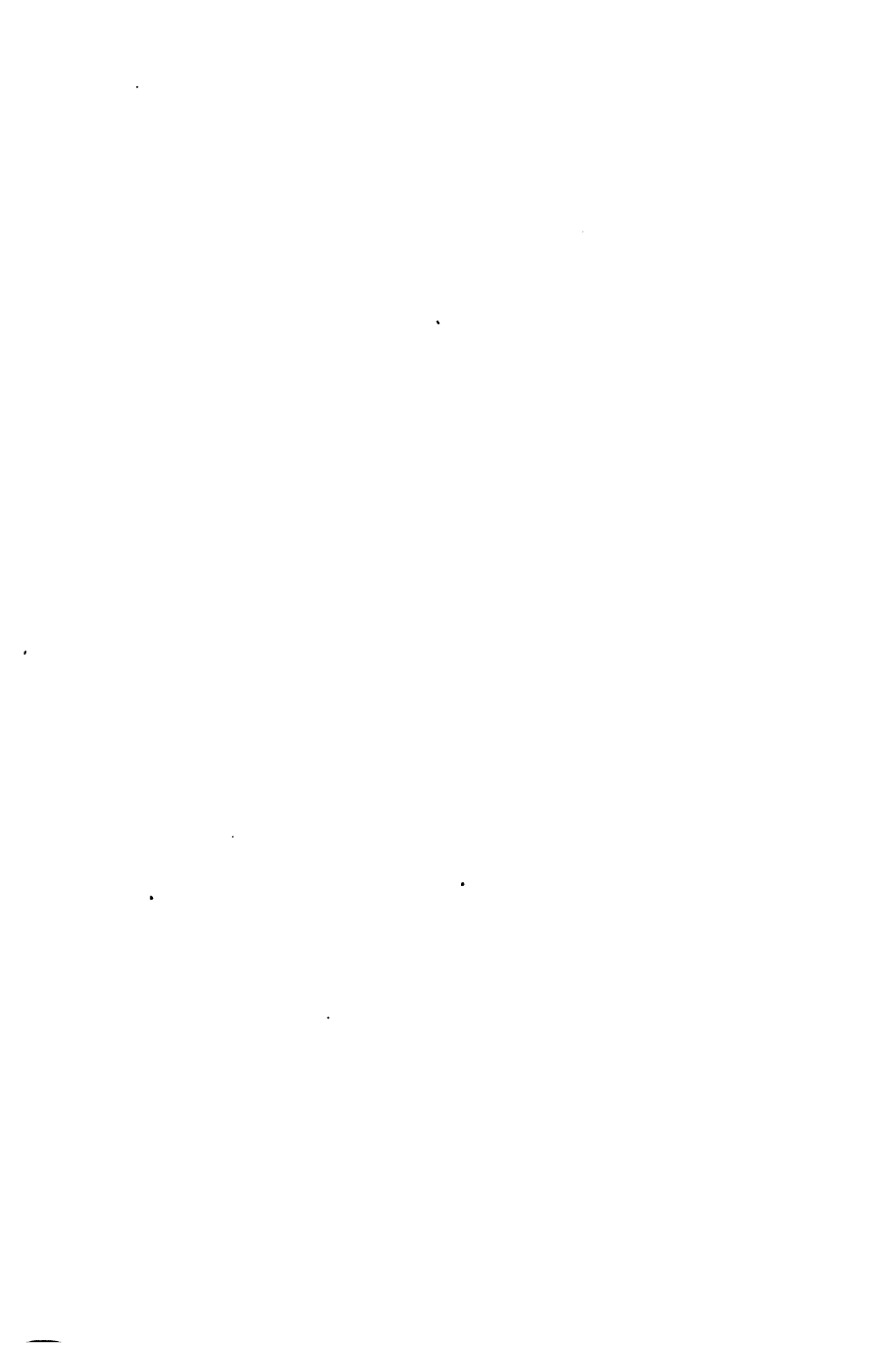
With profound respect,

FREDERICK, Archbishop of Buenos Aires.

As mentioned already, Father Martin Byrne, a young Passionist from Dublin, was already in the country on a collecting mission. The permanent committee appointed at the aforesaid July meeting, presided over by Edward Casey,



HOLY CROSS, BUENOS AIRES
("The Irish Monastery")



commenced negotiating with him on the matter of establishing a branch of his order in Buenos Aires. The Irish Convent, then about to be vacated, was given to him for that purpose, but there were oppositions and conditions connected with the transaction which made his retaining of the establishment impossible, and the arrangement was broken off. Father Byrne was a very spirited Irish Nationalist; he inaugurated and agitated the Irish Relief Fund in 1880, and although something had been done, in a quiet way, in the latter part of the previous year to this end, it was only when he took the matter up and wrote upon it and preached about it that a great patriotic effort was made amongst the Irish all over the country. He gave Missions in many of the districts where the Irish were numerous, and visited all of them, everywhere preaching and practicing the true religious and political spirit, and principle for Irish and Irish-Argentine Catholics to feel and follow. His popularity with the mass of the people increased accordingly. In the question between the Irish Nuns and the Trustees and Committee in charge of the Irish property, he took the side of the Sisters and wrote and said some very severe things of the men who were responsible for depriving the Irish people of a community which had rendered them such invaluable services in the past, who were still ready to continue those services, and who were then so immensely needed by our poor people. This action on his part aroused the opposition, not to say enmity, of some very influential people and he was anything but a persona grata in certain circles. However, arrangements were arrived at between the Committee and Father Martin as to the establishment of the Passionist Order in Buenos Aires, and these arrangements were in every way approved of by the Archbishop. The terms were in brief these: The Committee, on behalf of the Irish people, agreed to pay the Passionist Order in Dublin a large sum of money in exchange for a certain number of Irish priests, of their Community, who were to come to Buenos Aires and

establish a branch of their Order in the city, and who would attend to the spiritual wants of the Irish Catholics. The money was paid, but the General of the Order, in Rome, began at once putting in conditions contrary to the terms and spirit of the agreement entered into between the Irish Committee of Buenos Aires and Father Martin, representing his Provincial in Dublin. Father Byrne would stand by his bargain, the General at once ordered him home and sent other priests from the United States and Italy in his stead. The Irish community protested that their want and their arrangement were for Irish priests and they would support no others. Then commenced a campaign of intriguing, double-dealing and deceit on the part of the Passionist authorities that would be a disgrace to any body of men professing to be Christians, much less an order of priests. The deceit succeeded; the Order was founded on Irish money but turned out to be for Italian *and other purposes* as much as, or more than, for any Irish end or aim. As years went by this condition of affairs grew worse until the Italianization of the Province, and the turning of the Irish property from its original purpose became such a public scandal that protests, loud and unmeasured, arose from various Irish sections and parties. A number of the leading Irishmen and Irish-Argentines compiled a pamphlet called "The Passionist Order in Argentina"—"A statement of the question pending between its Superiors and the Irish Community," and from this pamphlet I will quote as to the founding of the Order here and to the deceits and double-dealings referred to.

As the following well-known gentlemen, lay and clerical, of Buenos Aires were responsible for the pamphlet there can be no suspicion of the production being anti-Passionist: Thomas Duggan, Santiago G. O'Farrell, Patricio Dowling, Edward Morgan (Colon), Rev. L. E. McDonnell, James E. Bowen, John Nelson, Julian Duggan, John Moore, Santiago Ballesty, Santiago Feeney, Rev. James M. Ussher, Edward

Duggan, Charles Duggan, etc., etc. The introduction to the pamphlet says:

The Committee, who are studying the best means to arrive at a final settlement of the difficulty pending between the Passionist Order and the Irish-Argentine community, have decided to publish this pamphlet in order that our people may have an exact knowledge of the question, and be in a position to form a well-founded opinion for themselves.

What we ask has been very clearly condensed by Dr. O'Farrell in the following paragraph which we quote from the letter signed by a number of gentlemen and handed to the Rev. Superior-General of the Passionist Order two years ago: "Nuestra solicitud puede concretarse en esta proposicion: entendemos que la Orden tiene la obligacion de hacer derigir las iglesias y casas que tiene establecidas en esta Capital Federal y en la Provincia de Buenos Aires por sacerdotes irlandeses, y como unico medio eficaz de que se llene ese proposito, debe establecerse definitivamente que dichas casas dependan de la provincia irlandesa." (Translation: Our demand may be reduced to this proposition: we believe that it is an obligation on the Order to have the churches and houses which it has established in this Federal Capital and in the Province of Buenos Aires governed by Irish priests, and as the only sure means whereby this end can be fulfilled, it must be established definitely that said houses be dependants of the Irish province.)

In other words, we insist that the Passionist houses in this country, should be Irish, that is, that their atmosphere, so to say, should be Irish; that their Superiors and most of the priests in them should be Irish or Irish-Argentine; and that these priests should have as a special mission in this country the spiritual welfare of the Irish people, to whom they should act as chaplains in this city and in the localities not attended by other Irish Chaplains. As a means to this end, we request that these houses be placed under the Hibernian province of the Passionist Order. This was the original understanding, and it is the only practical way we see to settle the difficulty. If the Passionist Superiors see any other reasonable way of satisfying our just request and propose an agreement, we are willing to take it into consideration, provided that our rights are duly respected.

As can be easily seen, we are not asking for anything extraordinary. We do not ask that the Passionist Fathers give up their Churches and Monasteries; but that we receive a guarantee that these will always

be destined to the object for which the Irish people contributed to build them and for which they have always supported them, that is, that the Churches be in charge of Irish or Irish-Argentine priests, whose special mission it would be to attend to the Irish people, and that the houses be the residences of these priests.

We do not want these houses to be converted into Italian missions, and we do not consider it fair to the young Irish-Argentine novices and students in the Order in this country that they should be *Italianized*, as is now being done, or is about to be done, in what is called the Italian house in Jesus Maria, and by the incorporation of Italian Passionists from Europe.

We consider that the Italian Passionists are as good as the Passionists of any other nationality; but we are strongly of opinion that they or their Superiors should apply to their own countrymen for the means to build houses and churches for themselves and their Italian people to whom they wish to minister. We would not offend them by thinking that they are not intelligent enough to understand that it could not be expected that our small Irish community should be expected to build and support the Passionist houses for the benefit of the immensely numerous and immensely wealthy Italian population in Argentina.

We do not for one moment pretend that the Passionist Fathers, Irish or Irish-Argentine, should not extend their spiritual ministrations to people of other nationalities, if they think well to do so; nor do we pretend that in their houses Passionists of other nationalities must not reside. Nothing could be farther from our minds, provided that we are attended to in all that to which we consider we have a just claim.

Neither do we pretend that the Passionist Order should leave the country; on the contrary we should be very sorry if it did so; but if the Superiors find no other alternative, in order to guarantee to us that we shall not lose what we have a right to, then, by all means, let them go, it being of course understood that in this case, they should be expected to leave the properties. We think this alternative would be very unfair to the Irish-Argentine priests of the Order, and to some of the other members, who are in no way responsible for what has happened, and who, we feel certain would never, and could never, be parties to the injustice that has been and is being done, and we have reason to presume that none will be more astonished than themselves at the facts that we are now publishing.

Since the Rev. Father General of the Order could not see his way to answer the note which he received from us two years ago, and to which he promised a reply within six months, the Committee have decided

with the approval of His Grace, Mons. Espinosa, Archbishop of this city, and of his Lordship Mons. Terrero, Bishop of La Plata, and after consultation with His Grace Mgr. Locatelli, Papal Internuncio here, to lay the whole case before the Ecclesiastical Courts of Rome for a final settlement. We are now preparing the documents, antecedents, data, etc., and expect to have all ready in a few weeks.

In the meantime we have decided to publish this statement. In it we are taking special care to make no assertion which we cannot prove. We will quote copiously from private correspondence dealing with the question at issue, principally from letters past between the Superiors of the Passionist Order in Europe and the Fathers out here. And as the public may be astonished at this fact, and ask how we came by such correspondence, we answer that we got it from the Ecclesiastical Courts in Rome. When Father Martin Byrne returned to Europe from this country, he got into difficulties with the General, and was expelled from the Order. But he appealed to the Holy See, and in discussing the case, the question of the Passionist Mission in Argentina was studied. For this discussion nearly three hundred documents, mostly the private correspondence above mentioned were presented as proofs on both sides. The judges decided against the General, and Fr. Martin was readmitted to his Order. We now have authentic copies of all that correspondence as well as of the other documents quoted.

Since Fr. Martin left here over thirty years ago down to very lately, many of us had serious misgivings regarding the relations between the Passionist Community and ourselves. We felt that everything was not correct; that there was a misunderstanding somewhere, but it was difficult to affirm anything definite.

Now we see the whole situation in a new light, and we know exactly where we stand. The object of this publication is to enlighten our people on the matter and to ask them to second the action of the Committee, who have taken up the question with the object of obtaining a final settlement. We intended publishing this statement a couple of months ago; but His Grace Mons. Espinosa, at the request of the Passionist Superiors and hoping to find some amicable solution, intervened. After some delay he informed the Committee that it was impossible to do anything here, and that the only course was to take the matter on to Rome for a final solution.

At one of its numerous meetings, the Committee were unanimously of opinion that until this question is satisfactorily settled, all relations with the members of the Passionist Community as such, should be

suspended and that all support should be withdrawn from it. And now we ask all the Irish-Argentine Community to act on these lines. It will be easily understood that we do not advise this step out of any personal animosity against the individual members of the Order here, whose responsibility in what has been done, we are not in a position to exactly determine.

The reason for this proceeding is obvious. Since the Passionist Superiors maintain that the mission of their community in this country is not to attend specially to the Irish people, it is evident that the Irish people are under no obligation whatever towards them. The sooner all concerned know that we are in earnest, the sooner our difficulty will be solved, either one way or another. Buenos Aires, October, 1913.

Following the foregoing introduction are a couple of pages recapitulating some of the events which led up to the founding of the Community here, which events have been touched on in dealing with other matters in chapters previous to the present, and also taking up the denial of the Passionist Superiors that any agreement was entered into as to the new foundation being established for the special benefit of the Irish-Argentine people, and then is inserted this letter as evidence of the groundlessness of said denial:

Buenos Aires, 20th July, 1879.

Dear Father Martin:

I suppose you have heard how the meeting went off. A Committee has been named to provide means to bring out a number of Irish priests for religious and educational purposes.

Before the Committee does anything, I hope to see you again. I doubt if it would be wise to bring priests of any Order existing here, as Irish interests would soon become subservient to others. Do you think there would be a fair probability of your Order establishing a house here? The present is an important time for the Irish Community here.

A false step will throw us back for years.

EDWARD CASEY,
President of the Permanent Committee.

And this further interesting data follow: "As can be seen, negotiations were commenced with the object of bring-

ing out Irish priests for religious and educational purposes, on the lines laid down in the document above quoted. The result was that the Passionist Community was established in this country. The conditions under which this was done, are given by Fr. Martin himself in a document addressed to His Holiness Leo XIII, in which he declares, referring to the Passionist Mission in Argentina, the following which we quote verbatim:

I established it upon the following conditions, (a) That the Mission should be for the benefit of the Irish Colonists, and be possessed and worked by priests of the same nationality from our British Province. (b) That this province should receive the private donations which the Colonists gave definitely for the Province and in exchange for priests. These donations are elsewhere called the surplus funds of the Mission. (c) That all funds and foundations should be supplied by the Irish, as, in fact, they were supplied by the Irish. (d) That no foreign Passionist, and nominatim no Italian, could possess any of the foundations or its revenues.

Besides the above clear statement, we reproduce the following letter sent four months later by Fr. Martin to his Provincial, Father Alphonsus O'Neill: "Presentation B. V. M., 21/11, 1879. Dear Rev. Father Provincial: If the £405 (four hundred and five pounds) drawn by Edward Casey on the Bank of Ireland and sent three weeks ago, is not to hand, advise Bank. I lost or mislaid the duplicate cheque. The enclosed £1000 (one thousand pounds), was subscribed by 7 or 8 friends in the last eight days—. This money has nothing to do with the ordinary collection, but is destined to compensate you for a journey to Rome and for taking two priests from home work to help me here—. When the men arrive another cheque for an equal or greater amount will be forthcoming—. In conclusion, I have to remind your Paternity that if the men be not sent, my honour and yours and the Order's is at stake that the cheque will be returned uncashed—. Your affectionate son in J. C., F. MARTIN, C. P.

A few more pages are occupied in showing that the General in Rome and the Provincial in Dublin were not in agreement as to the principles on which the foundation could be made, but that both gave Fr. Martin, Mr. Casey and the Archbishop to understand that the agreement entered

into between the representatives of the Irish community and the Passionist delegate would be respected, and the authors proceed: "One of the first steps of the Superior-General was not to allow the Irish Provincial to send the priests promised; another was to send other members of the Order to take the Mission completely out of the hands of the Irish Passionists. But this was not so easy, and suspecting that Fr. Martin was in the way, on June 30, 1880, he wrote to him ordering him back to his province within three months. Mgr. Aneiros thought this was not reasonable and wrote to the General explaining matters and asking him to send out the priests promised. Fr. Martin wrote also to all the Consultors of the Order in Rome, giving details regarding the situation. As a result of this correspondence the General did not insist on Fr. Martin's withdrawal, and wrote to him saying that he would send out two religious as his delegates to study the whole question and report to him, and that afterwards he would take a final decision. The delegates were Father Timothy Pacita, an Italian, and Father Clement Finigan, an American, both from the Province of the United States. They arrived in Buenos Aires on the 14th of December, 1880."

It is stated on page 17 that everybody from the Archbishop down understood that the original agreement was being carried out. Father Timothy, for the General, named Fr. Martin Superior, got him to procure from Mr. Casey £400 to bring home with him, and in February, 1881, left for Rome. Mr. Casey then gave the Fathers left in Buenos Aires, Martin and Clement, a house of his, rent free, at 1316 Calle Victoria, and this was the first Passionist establishment in Argentina.

Every paragraph in the little pamphlet is interesting, but the following few especially so, as affording useful historical data, and as giving an idea of how strangely men's consciences may be at variance as to what is right and just, in regard to things seen from different points of view of interest and race influence:

In the first days of June, 1881, Fr. Nilus Matrojanni, Italian, Fr. Fedelis Kent-Stone, North American, and Brother Ubaldo, Italian, arrived. Acting under instructions from his Superior-General, Fr. Nilus immediately assumed the Superiorship of the Mission, and took possession of the retreat in this city and of the furniture in San Roque Chapel, then called the Irish Chapel. This furniture consisted of benches of polished cedar wood, confessional, etc., acquired by Fr. Martin and paid for by subscription among the Irish people, and was of course Irish property. At this juncture Fr. Martin left the country and returned to Ireland. But Fr. Nilus, as Fr. Timothy before him, had come out completely ignorant of the real state of affairs. In a few weeks he understood the whole situation, and also arrived at the conclusion that it would be wrong to take the mission out of the hands of the Irish Province and refused to continue acting. He immediately wrote several letters to his Superior-General in Rome explaining matters. Here are a few extracts from these letters. On June 6th, 1881, a few days after arriving, he wrote. "Fr. Clement still laments that your Paternity has treated Fr. Martin in a manner which he has not deserved. It grieves me that your Most Rev. Paternity said nothing to me about all this imbroglio—. Things look rather turbid. Both (Fr. Martin and Fr. Clement) seem to think that the 30,000 Irish in this republic, are a burden on their shoulders and that it is our obligation to work for them, as their way of thinking is that if we do not work for them, we shall lose our prestige with them, and that in consequence the foundation must perish. This is equivalent to saying that without their help we cannot live in this country." He goes on to say that he foresees "immense obstacles" to the carrying out of his instructions. And one week later, on June 14th, Fr. Nilus wrote again mentioning that he suspected Fr. Martin's intention in going to Europe was to insist that Irish priests be sent out, and he adds: "His (Fr. Martin's) whole strength is in the first letter written by your Paternity accepting the foundation to be made by Fathers from England. Now that we are left in a strange place, depending on a strange people, it is necessary for us to follow and labour for these blessed Irish, and to have something to subsist upon . . . Father Clement continues to lament. He says that we have come to ruin all that Fr. Martin has done in two years . . . he knows that the people have already commenced to grumble because we do not as Fr. Martin did, and I believe they think we have been the cause of his departure. . . . And moreover, how reconcile so many promises made by him to those persons who have given so much to have Irish priests among

them? How remedy the promises made by him publicly from the altar, that the Fathers should be all for those who speak English?

And again as he was about to leave for Europe:

Never in my life have I taken the pen in hand with such trepidation of heart, and with so much sorrow and repugnance, as in this moment to write to your Most Rev. Paternity. After such days and nights of martyrdom, both of mind and body, at last the step is made . . . Fr. Martin has left us, so to speak, in a net from which we cannot extricate ourselves unless he returns. This is the same as to say that, compelled by necessity, we must do everything to make him return. . . . His departure has caused such an impression that not only have the best benefactors withdrawn from us, regarding us with suspicious eyes, but also the Irish Priests who have in a meeting declared that they will not have Missions. And the worst of it is that none of us has the manner of acquiring the goodwill of those who could help us."

Father Nilus was, like Fr. Timothy, thoroughly convinced, as the extracts from his letters show, of the unfair treatment meted out to Fr. Martin, that the General was trying to depart from the terms of the original agreement, and that by persisting in this course he was seriously damaging the honor of his Order and making almost certain the failure of the attempt to found the Community in Buenos Aires. He left the Plate in July, 1881, in fear and trembling, on a mission to meet Fr. Martin in Paris and with him to proceed to Rome to discuss matters with the General, but that dignitary would not allow him to even come near the Eternal City. Poor Fr. Nilus' letters are one long wail of despair and sorrow for the scandalous obstinacy, if not worse, of the General. The pamphlet summarizes the extracts to which I have referred, and partially quoted, thus:

The above quotations give us a fair idea of the results of the General's really extraordinary conduct. The Archbishop displeased, because the Passionists he got established in the country for the Irish, were not going to act up to their promises; Fr. Nilus, the General's

confidential envoy and local Superior on the brink of despair, after getting into disgrace with the General who refused to receive him and all because he reported truthfully and would not consent to do what he thought was wrong, that is: break the agreement that had been publicly made and publicly accepted by all parties.

The oldest priest now remaining was Fr. Clement Finigan, a North American, a zealous man, a good preacher and very popular with the Irish people. He entirely approved Fr. Martin's plans for founding the Community in Argentina, and would be no party to the General's plans of getting the Irish to sow the seeds and of turning the harvest over to the Italians. The authors I am quoting from say:

After Fathers Martin, Timothy and Nilus left the country, Fr. Clement remained as Superior, with Fr. Fidelis and the Italian lay brother, Ubaldo. Fr. Clement was of the same opinion as Fathers Timothy and Nilus regarding the agreement made by Fr. Martin with the Irish people. In Fr. Nilus' letter to the General, we find several references proving that he considered that Fr. Martin's agreement should be carried out. Here are a few quotations: "Fr. Clement still laments that your Paternity has treated Fr. Martin in a manner which he has not deserved. Fr. Clement . . . considers Fr. Martin a martyr, and hopes in a great triumph for him . . . Being *unum et idem* with Fr. Martin, he (Fr. Clement) will only give his reasons justifying their mode of working."

And so on through many extracts too lengthy to quote, but I must make place for the short comment which the authors pass on them, and which pretty well sums them up:

Evidently from the foregoing, Fr. Clement was not of the same opinion as the Superior-General, and could not see his way to break the agreement, notwithstanding his instructions; so after being Superior for three short months, he was replaced by Fr. Fidelis who was designated to take his place and to carry out the General's plan, which Fathers Martin, Timothy, Nilus and Clement considered impossible, because they saw it was unjust and should be wronging the Irish people. The plan was to make the Passionist mission in this country an Italian or international one, and the difficulty consisted in doing

so without losing the support of the Irish people. The four Passionist Fathers who proceeded Fr. Fidelis as Superiors, saw that this was not possible and withdrew. Father Fidelis then took the work in hands.

The gentlemen who compiled the pamphlet I am drawing on for these facts all knew the Rev. Father Fidelis Kent-Stone intimately, most of them, if not all of them, were close personal friends of his, and I cannot do better than give this little biographical sketch of him by them:

We must now speak about Fr. Fidelis Kent-Stone, the actual Provincial Superior of the Passionist Community in this country. To explain what has passed and what is actually passing, it is necessary to tell the plain truth. Not to do so now, that we know the facts, would be an injustice to ourselves and to posterity.

We find ourselves involved in the present question, and in our opinion treated very wrongly, because our people thirty years ago, placed implicit faith in him as a priest, never suspecting that he could be acting as he then did, and is now doing. So we must deal with Fr. Fidelis as he appears to us in the light of the facts of which we now have knowledge.

We are willing to recognize that Fr. Fidelis was specially suited for the work that had been committed to him. He was a man of the world, learned and diplomatic; he had occupied important positions in the religious denominations to which he belonged, before he became a convert from Protestantism; he had been a secular priest, and was now a member of the Passionist Order. His attainments and varied experience enabled him to take the Irish-Argentine community in hands and notwithstanding the difficulties of the situation, to successfully carry out the plans of the Superior-General. We do not for a moment suppose that he would ever act contrary to the dictates of his own conscience; but we do think that the line of conduct he followed when dealing with our community was wrong.

When a delegation of Irishmen two years ago spoke to the actual Superior-General, Fr. Jeremias, not the same Superior who sent Fr. Fidelis down thirty years ago, he said he needed to consult a person who could inform him exactly on the question raised. The person referred to is Fr. Fidelis, whom he called down by cablegram from the United States and named Provincial of the Passionists in this country.

Consequently it cannot be said that we are mistaken when we

affirm that it is he who is principally responsible for the existing difficulty. It is he who is acting against the interests of the Irish people here; carrying out the General's plan now as he did thirty years ago. And we must deduct that it is due to his advice and information that we have received from the actual General of the Order no answer to our petition. It is he who is carrying out at this moment the *Italianisation* of the Passionist Mission according to the intention of the Italian Superiors of the Order in Rome, pretending at the same time that he is acting in the best interests of the Irish people and safeguarding their rights in every way.

The first act of Fr. Fidelis in Buenos Aires, so far as we know, was one of very doubtful loyalty to his Superior, Fr. Clement. In a report to the General in June, 1881, he said amongst other things: "From the day of our arrival here he (Fr. Clement) has done all he could to oppose any change of the programme, and he has said to us and to outsiders . . . that his intention was to ask to be recalled if Fr. Martin did not return." On page 27 of the pamphlet I find: "He mentions how Fr. Martin's departure was a great relief to his mind because his presence was the principal obstacle to the carrying out of the General's plan of establishing an Italian or international mission with the pecuniary support of the Irish. And he tells how he is determined to carry it out. And thirty years later, when another Passionist General finds himself in difficulties over the same issue, the same Fr. Fidelis, called down from the United States by cablegram to continue his work of carrying out the original plan, has the courage to tell the Irish people, assembled in Holy Cross on St. Patrick's Day in 1911, that the Passionist Mission in this country is a Hiberno-Argentine Province. "It is yours," he said, "your own Province, keep it." On August 11, 1881, he gives the Rev. Superior-General his opinion of the different Passionist Fathers who had already been in Buenos Aires. He says amongst other things: "Fr. Martin is a zealous and amiable young man, and writing against him I feel like a traitor. . . . About Fr. Timothy what can I say? He was *prudens in generatione sua, venit, vidit, fugit*. (He was prudent in his generation, he came, he saw, and ran away.) The sole act of his administration was a blunder . . . For Fr. Nilus I feel only compassion. He had very good intentions, but not having the necessary strength to execute them, he nearly went out of his mind . . . Fr. Clement is good and innocent. I love him, I respect him, but most Rev. Father, it seems too clear to me that he has suffered loss here . . . lost much of the spirit of recollection. He is much devoted to Fr. Martin, co-operated with

him in everything, and now he does all in his power to continue all the undertakings of the same Father . . . From our arrival here, there has been an opposition of opinion between us in regard to our duties. What can I do? The instructions of our Superiors are for me the will of God . . . I recognize Fr. Clement as my Superior *ad interim*; I obey him in all that is not opposed to the obedience due to your Paternity . . . Notwithstanding the scandal passed, it seems to me that it would be possible to collect here in a little time sufficient money to build a Monastery of moderate size in the vicinity of this city. The Irish are generous, and when they understand well the alternative that we must either do this or go away, I hope that we shall be in a position to establish ourselves according to our rule. It would be necessary to commence with the Irish; there is nothing to hope from the others at present. I have suggested that perhaps we might get this money by subscription, none to be received until a certain amount be subscribed. I do not see any other way of establishing our good name in this country.

The General had at last hit upon what must have seemed to him the right man to carry out his designs. Fr. Kent-Stone had no scruples about agreements entered into, and more than complied with by the parties who were to finance the arrangement. We have seen what he thought of the four previous Superiors who felt that the bargain made between their Order and the Irish-Argentine community ought to be respected. He now announced that the Church to be built was not to be Irish, and also delivered his "alternative," and the pamphlet states:

This information coupled with Fr. Martin's departure and the non-arrival of the Irish priests promised, disgusted the gentlemen of the Committee of which Mr. Casey was president, and culminated, in what was already looked upon by many as a public scandal! Things came to a crisis. The Passionists had to abandon San Roque Chapel. The Archbishop, who was already displeased with the preceding events, it appears, ordered them to close a small chapel they had opened in their private residence; and from the time Fr. Fidelis was named Superior down to the middle of 1882, that is during six or eight months, the Passionist Fathers were practically isolated, and did nothing publicly excepting to attend some sick calls. It was evident that the

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Irish people in general were leaving them strictly alone, proving thereby that they would have nothing to do with them unless on the conditions stipulated with Fr. Martin.

But although boycotted to a great extent, Fr. Fidelis managed to maintain himself and his small community. It is not easy to understand how he did this unless there were funds from the time when the Passionists were regarded as wishful to stand by their bargain, but he soon began to prevail upon some of the humbler class of our people, especially the servant girls, that his mission was one of love and charity and that it was a religious obligation to support him. He knew the Irish well from his experience in the United States. Then was circulated the report that Fr. Martin had left the Order in disgrace. Soon after this he, Fr. Martin, wrote to some of his former friends in Buenos Aires urging them to support the Passionist Mission, for the sake of the good work it was doing and because of the great necessity our people had in the city for priests who could instruct and help them; and these things, to be perfectly fair, the Passionists then did, and always do, with a zeal and constancy worthy of all praise. The Irish girls were got to form some sort of a committee who waited on many wealthy Irish people in the city, with a view of making a collection for the Passionists. They contributed themselves, as has ever been their wont in such cases, with the greatest generosity and succeeded in winning some people to their cause, amongst the most important of whom was Dean Dillon, whose paper, the "Southern Cross," was thereafter at the service of the Passionist Mission. San Roque being closed against him, Fr. Fidelis somehow managed to get permission to say 1 o'clock mass in the Balvanera Church and to preach a sermon in English there every Sunday; he was thus gaining ground. The Irish girls, two hundred and fifty in number, had already issued an appeal as "Catholic Irish girls resident in Buenos Aires and earning our own subsistence." The "Appeal," a very politic and well thought-out document, was, of course, written by Fr.

Fidelis and scarcely one of the girls whose names were to it ever saw it until it appeared in the "Southern Cross" or the "Standard." It had the desired effect, and both these newspapers commented on it in friendly and encouraging terms; thus many people began to forget the cause of the trouble and lend their assistance to the good work. In September, 1882, the Superior purchased the ground on which now stands Holy Cross Church, and at once set about constructing a little temporary chapel with zinc and other materials purchased from the Managers, the Exhibition at Plaza Once, then recently closed. With such energy did he push on this work that within a few months after he had got possession of the ground he had service in the little zinc edifice, and on January 6, 1883, formally inaugurated Holy Cross Church. Whatever may be said of the methods and aims of Fr. Fidelis it must be admitted that he worked with great industry, perseverance and diplomacy. It is recorded that none of the dozen or so Irish priests then in the country attended the opening ceremony of the new church. There was still such a feeling amongst the subscribers of the money paid the Passionists on the agreement with Fr. Martin that Fr. Fidelis thought it good policy to make this declaration on the day of the inauguration: "People might say what they please, but this was the fact—it was an Irish Church, it was their Church and nobody could deny it," and the authors of the pamphlet follow with this very pointed comment and question: "We referred before to the fact that Fr. Fidelis was not dealing openly with our people. We understand that he announced in Balvanera on a certain occasion to a limited congregation that the proposed Church would not be an Irish Church, and now only a few months later, he tells us that it is an Irish Church and that nobody can deny it. On which occasion did he speak sincerely?"

About this time the leading subscribers and parties to the agreement with Fr. Martin demanded that he comply with his part of the contract, that of sending out Irish priests, or else return the money paid to the Order on this

condition. Neither was done, and law proceedings were started against the Community in Dublin. There was some more passing of notes between the General in Rome and the Branches of the Order in Dublin and Buenos Aires, and early in 1884 Fathers Victor Carolan and John MacMullen reached Buenos Aires from Dublin. There was a new General, Fr. Bernard Silvestrelli, who seems to have satisfied in some way the Irish representatives in Buenos Aires, for the law proceedings were discontinued as was also anything in the way of serious opposition to Fr. Fidelis and his associates.

As I have mentioned some pages back that Fr. Martin had retired from the Passionist Order, I must, in justice to him, and for the interesting information they contain include here a few paragraphs from the authors who have taken so much pains to establish the facts in this, for long, so very vexed question. Here they are:

In the first months of 1884 Fr. Fidelis went to Rome, probably called by the General, who needed direct information regarding Fr. Martin's connection with the Passionist Mission. For, as we said before, Fr. Martin had been expelled from his Community, because he kept on insisting that the original agreement should be respected, and appealed to the Pope on this point against the Superior-General.

Before his expulsion he could not go to Rome because his General persistently refused his permission during all these years. But the moment he found himself free, he proceeded thither, and insisted in his first appeal, that justice be done to the Irish people, and presented a new appeal against his own expulsion, claiming readmittance.

Fr. Fidelis went to Rome as principal witness against Fr. Martin. It was a very important case in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and Leo XIII commissioned five Cardinals to study the question and draw up the decision.

The second point was gained completely by Fr. Martin. The special Court decided in his favour, he was readmitted to the Order and the Superior-General was condemned in costs.

But the first point was not decided. The Court resolved: "Non constare de jure actoris;" that is, it did not appear that Fr. Martin was authorized by, or had the necessary powers from, the Irish people

in Argentina or the Irish Passionist Province to ask for a solution to this question. So it remains pending down to the present day. And the Committee who are publishing this statement, are going to lay it, with others, before the Ecclesiastical Courts in Rome.

We draw attention to these things here, for they are another proof of the trouble and annoyance the Passionist foundation in Buenos Aires has given, and will probably yet give, the higher authorities of the Order, because their dealings with our people have not been fair nor sincere, and we do not think we can be contradicted when we say that it all looks as if their plan had always been to get our money and our support under false pretenses.

And we also mention the above facts to prove that Fr. Fidelis has been constantly opposed to the interests of our people. On that account he was named local superior over thirty years ago; for that he was over in Rome giving evidence against Fr. Martin; and now again, with that same object another Superior-General has called him down by cable from North America and got him named Provincial Superior over this Province to which he does not belong, for he is a member of the United States Province of the Passionist Order.

With the foregoing quotation I take my leave of this very timely and useful little work. The authors mention that they have hundreds more of documents and reports bearing on this question which they have not published and that they are still collecting such material. I hope they will soon see their way to give to the public the fruits of their labors in this matter of such deep historical interest to the Irish-Argentine people. Only a limited number of copies of this their first publication was issued, and these for distribution amongst carefully selected individuals. I think this exclusiveness on the part of the authors was a mistake. There is nothing in the pamphlet to damage the reputation of the Passionist Fathers, as a body; on the contrary, it proves that the majority of the priests from the beginning were anxious to act in good faith with the Irish people. Why then not send it broadcast and enable everyone to see and judge openly for themselves? What the public would learn is that all the harm came from the authorities at Rome being, to put it very mildly, inordinately zealous for the

welfare of their own people; and from the fact that a very tactful and rather unscrupulous Anglo-American, who had no sympathy with anything Irish, had wielded a controlling influence over the foundation almost from its start, and who, when he was not the actual head of the Community, always contrived to have men of his own stamp, and who would do his bidding, in its posts of influence. The open agitation to which the exposures in Mr. Padraic MacManus' review, *Fianna*, in the early part of 1911, brought the years of grumblings and discontent of the people, were the real driving power of the Committee, as they opened the eyes of the public to the wrong that had been and was being done, and those of the Passionist authorities to the danger that lay before their Order in Argentina if they persisted in their disregard of the rights of the Irish-Argentine community. The Committee were the medium of the settlement but *Fianna* was the compelling force.¹ An agreement was arrived at, and the announcement made at the lunch in Holy Cross Monastery on St. Patrick's Day, 1914, in presence of Archbishop Espinosa, Fr. Fidelis and a gathering of some two hundred Irish and Irish-Argentine men, lay and clerical, that a new Province, the Argentine Province, of the Passionist Order had been formed, and that from that on the Passionist Community in this country would be under no foreign control, except in so far, of course, as the rules of the Order permitted the General to exercise a certain jurisdiction. This arrangement, although far from what the people contended for, was accepted by the Committee, as it was believed it would prevent all further Italianization, and Anglicization from North America, of the Order. The Passionists, notwithstanding their zealous labors in the discharge of their ministerial duties, became objectionable to many, chiefly from their pro-English leanings, especially in

¹ The authors err in thinking, as they state on page 80, that the Father Fidelis-Clement Mission given at the San Francisco Church was the first of its kind in Buenos Aires. In May, '79, Father Martin gave a very successful Mission at San Roque.

the days of the Boer War, their cringing lack of Irish principle and their constant tendency towards Anglicizing the Irish-Argentine community. The new arrangement made possible the absolute abandonment of these hateful and demoralizing dispositions. Irish-Argentine priests will, it is expected, be soon in full control of the Province. They will be able to put the right spirit into their Community if they have the desire. The men of the Order in Ireland are among the most patriotic and uncompromising nationalists in the Irish priesthood. There is now no reason why Irish-Argentine priests should not be equally faithful to their people and the traditions of their race. I believe they will be; and more, I am sure they will be, if the Irish-Argentine people *want* them so to be.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE GEN. BROWN CLUB ACTIVE—ANOTHER IRISH COLONY SCHEME—THE IRISH CONVENT PROPERTY—SACRED HEART NUNS COME TO BUENOS AIRES—IRISH RELIEF FUND—ANOTHER IRISH SOCIETY—IRISH IMMIGRANTS WANTED—DEPARTURE OF FATHER MARTIN BYRNE—THE IRISH ORPHANAGE—THE DRESDEN—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

THE year 1880 was one of great activity and of some important events among the Irish of Argentina. Just at its dawn the General Brown Club came out with its list of candidates for election to the Legislature. John Dillon and Charles Davis were the only Irish names in their list. The Club had scarcely named its candidates and published its platform when it split to pieces. It was composed of all creeds and all races. One of the planks in its platform proposed compulsory curing of scab in sheep. A very proper measure to seek to realize.

Father Martin, travelling in camp, started the "Relief of Distress in Ireland Fund."

A committee of prominent Irlandeses waited on Governor Tejedor with a request for a grant of twenty leagues of land on which to found an Irish colony. The Governor was friendly to the scheme, but explained that to dispose of so large an area of public lands he would have to have a special law made, and he recommended the committee to have some Senator take the matter up for them with a view of getting a special law passed, or on the other hand to ask for a smaller area. Some Senators were seen, but would not agree to the Committee's proposition unless the English Government paid the passage of five hundred or one thousand families out as colonists, or failing that that the Irish at home or in Buenos Aires pay the passages. Messrs. Michael Duggan and E. T. Mulhall then wrote to Mr. John Lentaigne,

Inspector of Convent Schools in Ireland, asking him to put this proposition before the English Government: "That if the Government would defray the passages, about £10,000, of five hundred families, the Irish of Buenos Aires would raise as much money as would support the five hundred families for one year, and that the Argentine Government would give the immigrants twenty leagues of land." The English Government would be very glad to get so many Irish families out of Ireland just then—it was, indeed, the stated policy of England's "great statesman," Gladstone, to reduce the Irish population—but had no notion to help to lose them to the British Empire. Get them to Australia or Canada, by all means, but to an independent state was another thing, and the scheme fell through.

The Irish Convent property was now lying idle, and Archbishop Aneiros called another meeting of the Irish residents at his house, to consult as to what was best to do with it. The meeting was a rather small one as another meeting had already been called, by some leading Irishmen, for the same purpose to meet a few days later. Those present, however, were of the opinion that it was not desirable to change the purpose for which Father Fahey had intended the institution and agreed that an effort should be made to bring out another Community of Sisters to replace those gone away. The meeting just referred to was called by the Trustees of the Convent and other properties and came off on April 22, 1880. The following report of the proceedings thereat is from the editorial columns of "The Standard:" "The meeting at the Irish Convent called by the Trustees, was largely attended yesterday. Nearly all the Irish Chaplains and most of our representative Irish estancieros were present. Mr. E. T. Mulhall was voted to the chair with Mr. James Browne as Secretary. The Chairman read the notice convening the meeting, and the deed of Transfer by the late Canon Fahey to the Trustees, and in a few short remarks explained the object of the meeting and its necessity. Mr. Patrick Bookey, on behalf of the

Trustees, fully explained the history of their trust and the present position of affairs. The Rev. John Leahy spoke to the necessity of preserving the institution for an Irish Orphanage. The Rev. Largo M. Leahy also spoke to the question. Mr. Carroll concisely defined the position of the Trustees of the Convent and Hospital, and dwelt on the necessity of at once taking steps. The Rev. Father O'Reilly addressed the meeting on the necessity of keeping the Convent for Irish uses, and adhering to our traditions. Many other gentlemen spoke, and the best harmony of opinion and friendly feeling prevailed, all expressing a wish to maintain intact the Irish institutions in the city; finally the following resolution was moved by Mr. Thomas Duggan, and seconded by Mr. Dillon and passed unanimously: Resolved, that the Trustees be requested to call on the Archbishop, and explain that the Irish people require of the Community to whom the Convent is passed: 1st. That they teach a superior school. 2d. That they keep an Irish Orphanage, and that the sense of the meeting is, that the use of the Convent be only given on these conditions. The Secretary read a letter from Dean Dillon regretting his inability to attend the meeting; owing to the Archbishop's absence he was obliged to officiate in the Cathedral. . . . Mr. Armstrong moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, and the meeting, which held for about three hours, dissolved."

A movement had been for some time on foot to establish a branch of the Community of Sisters of the Sacred Heart in the place of the Sisters of Mercy, and the meeting at the Archbishop's house and the one at the Irish Convent, the report of which I have just given, were both called to consider, or ratify, although not ostensibly so, this proposition. These meetings are the beginning of the history of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart in Buenos Aires, and although it was from Chili the first Company of these Nuns came, the Rev. Mother and some of her companions were Irish born. The Committee of Trustees appointed by the meeting of April 22, had various interviews with the Arch-

bishop, and finally agreed to an arrangement. At this very time Father Martin Byrne and another Committee, partly composed of the same gentlemen who had control of the Irish Convent, were trying to make arrangements for the establishing of the Passionist Order, so that the good Archbishop must have felt very pleased to see his "great and special predilection for the Irish people resident in this archdiocese" being so happily satisfied. When the Committee had completed their arrangements with Dr. Aneiros they called another meeting of the Irish people for the 18th of May, 1880, and as this is the starting point of a new era in the history of the Irish Convent and Orphanage, I cannot do better than give the whole account of what took place at the meeting, as reported in the papers. The meeting was held in the Convent building. Mr. Patrick Bookey moved and Mr. Michael Duggan seconded, that Mr. E. T. Mulhall take the chair and Mr. J. P. Browne act as secretary. This was agreed to and the chairman opened the proceedings by ordering the minutes of the last meeting, held the 22d of April, to be read. These were read and approved. The secretary then read a memorandum drawn up by the Archbishop's Secretary to be signed by the Trustees of the Convent. This paper the Trustees placed before the meeting before signing, as it contained a clause by which the Trustees would have held themselves responsible for all previous debts which might be due by the Convent; it was not approved of. The Secretary then read a letter from the Archbishop's Secretary to the Superioress of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart and the reply given to same. This was deemed satisfactory, as it contained a clear acceptance of the conditions under which the Convent would be given to the said Sisters, viz.: 1st, the establishment of a superior school; 2nd, teaching a poor school; 3rd, keeping an Orphanage. Mr. Bookey stated that with this favorable reply the mission of the Trustees to the Archbishop ended and it only remains to hand over the Convent to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart and so comply with the resolutions

adopted at the last meeting. Mr. Carroll stated that it was desirable to ascertain what claims the Sisters of Mercy had on the Convent as so far no specific statement of accounts had been presented by the Sisters or their attorneys. This was generally approved of and after some further discussion in which Father Martin and others took part, Mr. Carroll moved and Mr. Farrell seconded the following resolution: That the Trustees be and are hereby authorized to leave the Convent to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart for a term of five years, renewable at the Trustees' option, at a nominal rent of \$50 m/c. a year, subject to the conditions submitted to the Archbishop and accepted by the Sisters, and that these conditions form part of the deed or lease. This was unanimously agreed to. In answer to inquiries about the furniture of the Convent it was stated that part of it was donated and consequently belonged to the Convent. The furniture of the poor schools likewise belonged to the Convent. The furniture of the Convent and schools belonged to the Sisters of Mercy and an inventory was shown; it was understood that the Sisters of the Sacred Heart could buy this if they desired from the representatives of the Sisters of Mercy. Mr. Bookey stated that the repairs to the building, whitewashing, painting, would amount to about \$25,000 m/c., accounts of which he held for inspection and publication. The Trustees were authorized to collect subscriptions for the repairs of the Convent. The meeting then adjourned.

In a few days after the meeting called to consider the giving of the Irish Convent to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, to be exact, on the 21st of May, the said Sisters took possession of the institution. Thus the meeting was, as Father Martin had already pointed out, not called to decide on the matter, but to accept what had already been decided for it. The Sisters of Mercy, however, being now gone from the country no better choice of a Community could be made than the one ratified by the meeting of the 18th of May. Rev. Mother Fitzgerald took over the Irish

orphans, temporarily being cared for by the St. Vincent de Paul Sisters. From the Irish Relief Fund, started chiefly by Father Martin, now closed, and about which more presently, she was handed over a balance of \$1280 m/c., and Mr. John Moore soon after placed at her disposal a sum of \$26,416 m/c., which he received from the Sisters of Mercy, at their leaving, as funds of the Irish Orphanage. Father Mullady, E. T. Mulhall, Mgr. Curley, Father John Leahy, Father Purcell and many other prominent men busied themselves to raise funds for the reopened Orphanage, and its first Report, published September, 1881, showed the encouraging items of \$188,537, income, and a balance on hand of \$42,548. The Report further stated that there were seventy-five orphans in the institution, that the free school had an attendance of one hundred and fifty children and that there were fifty-four paying pupils. Dr. Lausen attended the institution free; and Drs. Colbourne and Pecan had offered their services, also free.

Rev. Mother Fitzgerald and her devoted company seemed to be giving every possible satisfaction and were receiving unstinted praise.

The most important event in these years, from an Irish patriotic point of view, was the collection for the Irish Relief Fund. In the latter part of 1879, the great distress in Ireland, owing to the partial failure of the crops and the tyrannical exactions of the landlords, was a question of the deepest concern for the Irish people at home and abroad. It was the occasion of Parnell's first public mission to the United States, and the response made to his appeal by the Irish in North America and their friends saved a large proportion of the people in the old land from a repetition of the horrors of Forty-seven. In every country where the Irish had settled, the appeal of the leaders at home was heard and generously harkened to. About November, '79, some start was made in Buenos Aires towards organizing a collection, but it was not until Father Martin, then visiting the northern camp districts of Buenos Aires, wrote some stir-

ring letters on the subject that a real effort was made. A meeting was held at the end of January, '80, in Buenos Aires, at which a sum of \$55,000, old money, was subscribed by twenty-seven contributors. Messrs. M. Duggan, W. Murphy, Moore, Casey, Gahan and Ham contributed about four-fifths of that total. Contributions then began to pour in with great rapidity and generosity. Hardly a parish in the country where there were any Irish but was heard from in quick haste. On May 23rd, four months after the inauguration of the movement, the Committee closed the fund and published their balance thus: \$571,318 had been collected; \$41,780 had been subscribed by Argentines and others, apart from Irish, English and Scotch. The sum of £3,802-9-8 had been remitted to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, the remainder of the \$571,318, as mentioned some pages back, was handed over to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart to help them in their newly opened Orphanage and Schools. The contribution was a quite creditable one for the Irish Argentine community of nearly forty years ago, and all the more so as there were no very large subscriptions, two hundred dollars, gold, and but few of them, being the high water mark of individual generosity. It was by far the largest sum raised since or before by the Irish of Argentina for any one purpose.

In the spring of 1881, Father Martin, ever diligent in the interests of his people, called together, at the then Passionist retreat, a number of Irishmen for the purpose of taking measures to organize an Irish society. The project never got beyond the initial stages, for Father Martin was soon after ordered home by his Superiors. But the proposal is interesting for the points of view from which it was advocated and from which it was discouraged, and from the fact that the new organization was to be called the Irish Catholic Association—the first mention I have met of that title. The new association was to be for the “literary and moral development of young Irishmen and the sons of Irish parents.” Dean Dillon expressed himself as strongly in

favor of the proposed society and hoped it would be started, if at all possible. Dr. Grace, fresh from the United States, dwelt on the great benefits derived from such clubs in his country and their usefulness in improving the education of young men. Mr. Davis opposed the project, and stated that it would not succeed, that young Irishmen in the country would benefit themselves more by learning Spanish and entering, earnestly, into the political life of the country, if born here, than by remaining secluded and limited to the traditions, customs and language of the old country. Father Martin could not agree with Mr. Davis, but on the contrary expected the best results from such a club as that under discussion. Dean Dillon feelingly lamented the utter indifference of young Hiberno-Argentines towards the land of their parents, their lukewarm religious spirit and general departure from the old ways. Mr. Feely believed a society like the one proposed had a better prospect of success in the camp than in the city, for in the city Irishmen were comparatively few and rarely came together. Mr. James Gahan was doubtful of the future of such a society. Mr. King made several comparisons to show the possibilities of a strong society on the lines stated. There was much discussion after this fashion and Mr. Michael Duggan advised the inscribing of the names of those in favor of the proposal, to find out whether or not it was popular. Mr. Edward Casey was not in favor of a literary society as there was one already in the city embracing all persuasions and classes. There was some more expressions of opinion and suggestions, and Father Byrne, still optimistic, after reviewing the pros and cons in the proceedings stated that he would canvass his friends and acquaintances on the subject and see if he would find adherents enough to enable him to launch the enterprise. The intrigues against him, by members of his own household, were already well under way; he received the cold shoulder from many of his friends and there was no more heard of that particular Irish Catholic Association,

The event of greatest public interest to our people in 1881, the purpose of Father Martin's recall was not then fully understood, was the appointment of Dean Dillon, by the President of the Republic, as a commissioner to go to Ireland to promote emigration from there to this country. The Dean was already a Provincial Deputy and stood high in Argentine public regard. It speaks well for the esteem in which Irish emigrants were held by the National Government that they sent a special mission to Ireland to entice more of those people to come to Argentina. The scope and purpose of Father Dillon's commission is best explained in the official document advising him of his appointment and I give it following.

Ministry of the Interior,

Buenos Aires, April 16, 1881.

Rev. Dean Dillon,
Present.

I beg to inform you that by decree of the 13th instant, His Excellency, the President of the Republic, has thought proper to send you on a mission to foment Irish emigration to the Argentine Republic. You will leave for Europe, for this purpose, as soon as possible. Your mission for the present is limited to making known the advantages the Argentine Republic offers to honest and industrious emigrants, the natural wealth, beautiful climate, the customs of its inhabitants and the free principles of its Government. You will also announce that the Executive will petition Congress in the next Sessions for pecuniary support to help the agricultural emigrants who wish to emigrate to this country. You may, therefore, assure those families that wish to come to this Republic that they will obtain from this Government; free of charge, board and lodging on their arrival, and railway passages to any part of the Republic until they are finally settled; they may also reckon on a concession of land sufficient to meet all their agricultural requirements.

You will transmit to this Ministry a full detailed account of your proceedings in this respect through the medium of the Immigration Department and acting in accordance with the Commissary General in Europe, Don Carlos Calvo.

During your mission you will obey these provisional instructions

until you receive more ample ones. At the same time you are at liberty to submit to the Government, the agents, or sub-agents, what you deem necessary for the success of your mission in Ireland. God guard you!

A DEL VISO.

There was a great banquet given in honor of the Dean as he was about to leave on his mission to Ireland. All the leading Irish and Irish-Argentines of the city were present, and many toasts were drunk and eloquent speeches spoken. David Suffern toasted the health of the Irishmen and Irish-Argentines then holding public office, and said amongst other things: "Around this table are Deputies, Judges, Commandants and Bank Directors—worthy proof of the services of Dean Dillon who in the Southern Cross always stands up for his country." His mission to Ireland, however, was not a success, but through no fault of his. In his report presented to his Government in January, 1882, he explains his failure by saying he had nothing to offer compared with the free passages and free lands offered by the British Colonies, and the pre-paid passages of friends in the United States. He mentions Bishop Ireland's plantation scheme in Minnesota, where he bought a large tract of land and brought out families giving each family one hundred acres. He suggests the paying of the passages of suitable families, giving them support and sixty-acre farms of good land not too far out, the settlers to pay back the outlay in eight years. He calls the Land League, "a just and semi-revolutionary movement," and says that Ireland will never be well governed till she has her own parliament in Dublin. The report mentions, also, that three million of the Irish population has disappeared from the country because of starvation and emigration in the space of thirty years. The Land League, he tells, is against emigration, but believes that if the Government would give proper inducements a number of families would come out and that such action on the part of the Government "whilst benefiting this country, would be a great service to the unfortunate but honorable people of Ireland."

Large banqueting rooms must have been very scarce thirty-five years ago in Buenos Aires, for it is reported that the inevitable banquet which was given for the Dean's return was spread in Michael Duggan's barraca, or store-house, in Calle Victoria, and here the Governor and many of the Government officials and all the principal Irish of the city gathered to eat and drink and do the Dean honor.

So much has been said in previous chapters on Father Byrne and his mission to Argentina that I am loath to dwell on his departure at any length, but as containing information that ought to be preserved to our community I will have to give the following couple of extracts from an editorial in the "Standard" of June 12, 1881: "The Irish community in the River Plate will hear with regret of the departure of Rev. Father Martin Byrne for Europe on Wednesday, next, a clergyman who in the discharge of his sacerdotal duties gained the esteem and respect not only of his countrymen but also of all foreigners, irrespective of their religious persuasions, who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. During his two years' residence in the Plate he visited most of the Partidos in the camp, holding missions in the various country towns, called on most of the farmers at their houses; whilst in town reopened San Roque Church, which for the last quarter of a century was known as the Irish Catholic Church of this city; he founded a house of his order, opened a school for boys, organized a society of Beneficencia amongst the Irish Catholics in the city, took charge of poor orphan boys, who he placed in the industrial school of San Carlos; in one word his career in this country has been one continuous list of good deeds, and we cannot allow this Rev. gentleman, who has proved so useful to our community to leave us without some expression of thanks for his valued services." The article continues in this strain for considerable length and ends in these words: "If it is permitted to us to offer a remark to the superior of his order we must say that his field of action is infinitely wider

and better amongst his countrymen in the River Plate than narrowed up in his monastery at Harolds Cross."

From the calming down of the little storm raised by Father Fidelis and his General in Rome through their cajoling the Irish people here, as recounted in Chapter XXII, till the coming of the Dresden immigrants in 1889, the Irish Orphanage and its affairs hold, by far, the largest place in Irish public matters in Buenos Aires. The prosperous and promising start made under the management of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, notwithstanding all the best efforts of these good ladies, began to lag about the middle of the decade, and inside of a couple of years more deficits and debts have to be recorded in every report of the Institution. Large and unexpected outlays have to be made, increased numbers of children claim help and subscriptions are not as generous and numerous as they used to be. The new association, into whose care the institution has passed from the old Trustees, are no better able to solve its problems than were these. There are plans and projects in plenty to this end; new buildings, new means of raising revenue, sales, purchases of new grounds, etc., but the great difficulty remains unsolved. And here we are, thirty years later, with, if not the same difficulties, others just as unsolvable, seemingly. I shall list the principal happenings as they took place, briefly, of course, but with sufficient detail for a mere record of not very important events.

Collections were common in the city and in the camp, although not well responded to at all times, which fact goes without saying, as there was frequently a shortage of funds. At a Committee meeting, in May, '82, it was agreed to change the name of the Orphanage to that of the "Father Fahey Orphanage," and to build a new wing to the institution, the cost of which would be about \$170,000. There were then 92 orphan children in it. Hot foot on top of the meeting just referred to another one was held by the Committee, in Mr. Edward Casey's office, at which it was resolved to build a spick and span new orphanage at a cost

of \$250,000. Mr. Casey presided at this meeting, Mr. T. St. George Armstrong acting as secretary, and there were present, Committeemen, Dean Dillon, Patrick Bookey, T. Duggan, John Murphy, Laurence Garraghan and E. T. Mulhall. There was some discussion as to how the necessary funds would be raised and a committee was named to collect in town and camp for the purpose. These gentlemen composed the new Committee: for the city, Messrs. Bookey and Armstrong; Dean Dillon, E. Casey, Garraghan, Ham, T. Duggan, J. J. Murphy and M. Duggan for the camp, with power to add to their number. This meeting also resolved to secure legal standing for the organization. A couple of weeks later another meeting changed the decisions arrived at as recorded, the city collectors being increased and the camp Chaplains being left to form their own local collecting committees. In August the Nuns issued their second annual Report, which was to this effect: Children in the Orphanage—Commencing year, 70; entered since last Report, 50; went out to service, 19; returned to their families, 12; in the institution at end of June, 89. Collected, \$86,076; donations, \$55,115; given for certain children, \$30,330; total receipts, \$214,114; expenses, \$194,578; balance, \$19,536. A quantity of old clothes, remnants and various kinds of wearables were also acknowledged as received. Father O'Reilly wrote a very spirited letter on the parsimony with which the Irish were supporting their Orphanage, soon after the Balance Sheet appeared, saying that they might very reasonably feel ashamed of themselves in this matter. In response to his letter there were many subscriptions, five Garraghans and Miss H. Kenny, together, contributing \$10,100; Father O'Reilly, himself, sent in \$2500. A list of subscriptions toward the building of the new Orphanage, estimated at \$250,000, had these as the first sums contributed: M. Duggan Bros., \$20,000; E. Casey, \$10,000; J. J. Murphy, \$5000; L. Garraghan, \$5000; E. T. Mulhall, \$2500; T. St. George Armstrong, \$3000; J. B. Gahan, \$2500; P. Ham, \$10,000; J. B. Dowling, \$5000;

E. R. Murphy, \$3000; T. Drysdale, per E. T. Mulhall, \$5000; John Duggan, \$2000. There is a very pleasant item to be recorded just as the year '82 ends. The Mayor of the city visited the Orphanage and expressed himself as more than pleased at the work of this splendid institution. And further said it was a question that should be taken up for solution, what to do with these girls when they left the Orphanage—girls that would make such good wives should not have to go out as servants. No educated Argentine girl should have to go to service, he said, and as a token of his sympathy with the institution that was doing such great work for the Municipality he would exonerate the institution from the payment of pavement taxes due of the amount of \$29,000. In the following May a general meeting was called to establish a society to take over the Irish property from the old Trustees and to decide on procuring legal standing for the new society, but as only forty persons assembled nothing could be done. The next Report by the Sisters shows some progress; an income of \$255,788, and a balance on hand of \$28,450. Building Fund receipts, \$204,961, expended on building; cost of new building, \$270,000. It is noticeable that the estimate fell \$20,000 short of the real cost.

Notwithstanding contributions, donations and a theatrical benefit, given by Mr. Latham, which netted seven hundred pesos, an appeal had to be issued for funds for the support of the Orphanage in the middle of '84. The appeal was directed to "Englishmen and Scots" as well as to the Irish community, and it stated that the want of funds was "becoming of regular periodical occurrence." The Report of the Sisters for the year gave 44 children as entering, 13 as going out to service and 14 as returning to their families, leaving 113 in the Orphanage. It gave the further interesting information that three of the orphans were baptized, 26 confirmed, 35 made their first confession and 27 their first communion. In '85 there were two lotteries of \$20,000 each drawn for the benefit of the Orphanage, yet the Com-

mittee, presided over by Michael Duggan, had to say: "We regret to have again to call the attention of our rich countrymen in the camp to the heavy deficit which the balance for this month shows, and we trust that when acquainted with the figures they will come forward and subscribe liberally to the support of the most essential of our institutions. Nothing can be better or more economical than the present administration of the Orphanage, but the support and maintenance of 116 orphans cost money, and we must all be prepared to give a little more than hitherto in view of the large number of orphans in the establishment." The Annual Report gave 41 children as entering, 14 as going out to service, 28 returning to their families and two deaths, leaving 110 in the Orphanage. The story of the year '86 is almost a repetition of that of the previous year. In June of the next year a meeting was held at Mr. Casey's office, Mr. Carroll presiding, at which it was decided to sell the Orphanage, and a deputation was named to consult with the Rev. Mother on the proposal. After due consultation and consideration another meeting of the Committee was held, in October, whereat it was agreed to sell all the property to the Nuns, then in possession, for the sum of \$225,000. Messrs. Carroll and Casey were president and secretary, respectively, of this meeting. The annual report, after the usual census of the orphans, etc., records a deficit of \$2438, and gives the following few interesting details: Expenses, food, \$8070—per orphan, \$71.40; clothing, blankets, etc., \$1734—per orphan, \$15.35; carpenters, \$1466—per orphan, \$13; fuel, medicine, etc., \$971—per orphan, \$8.60. Total, \$12,241—per orphan, \$108.35. Average, \$9 monthly per orphan. This little complaint was also published: "We cannot too often regret the fact that several of our countrymen have died recently leaving large fortunes, forgetful of the Irish Orphanage."

As soon as it was announced that the Committee had decided to sell the property there was a quite lively outburst of protest against the proposal, and, indeed, from very varied

points of view; the insufficiency of the reasons for the sale given by the Committee, the suspiciously low price proposed to be accepted and the associations and traditions connected with the old place being amongst the principal grounds of objection. Some argued that the sale was advisable from the point of view of getting a large piece of ground to start a creamery and industrial schools on, for both sexes, and for the taking of the institution altogether out of town. Fruit and vegetable growing were also amongst the proposals for the new order of things to be established. But one of the very strange arguments put forward in favor of the selling of the place was that the institution was too large; and this, too, by some of the gentlemen who a few years before had been parties to the spending of \$270,000 in making the enlargements. Because of this largeness, it was further argued, the place in the future would be "an enormous tax" on the public charity. But the opposition to selling was so great that the Committee let the matter lie in abeyance all through '88, and a general meeting was called for September of next year to elect a new Committee, or "Trustees," as they used then be called. It was in this agitation against the sale of the Hospital and Convent property that the point was raised, that according to Father Fahey's "will," fifty Irelandeses should agree to the sale before it could be legally carried out, and so far no such number had attended any of the meetings held for this purpose. Just before the holding of the September, '89, meeting it was announced that Michael Duggan had bequeathed to the institution \$50,000, and as the debt, at the time, was only some \$4000, this stroke of good luck strengthened the anti-sellers very greatly. The meeting came off on the 10th of the month, and was attended by some one hundred persons, eighty of whom voted against the sale, ten declining to vote for or against. On the meeting refusing to ratify the bargain entered into by the Committee, Dr. Lamarca proposed advancing his offer, in behalf of the Nuns, by the sum of \$112,000, but the meeting took the matter very seriously

and would agree to nothing on that day save to empower the new Committee to take the matter up and report their progress at a new general meeting. The following gentlemen composed the new Committee: Fathers O'Reilly and Flannery, Messrs. Carthy, Casey, Kenny, T. Duggan, Ham, J. Moore, O'Farrell, Suffern, Dinneen, Tormey, Dowling, O'Curry, Browne and Gahan.

There were some very sharp criticisms of the outgoing Committee for their having so disappointed the Sisters of the Sacred Heart in selling what they had no authority to sell, and after two years' delay and uncertainty retiring from office and breaking up the bargain altogether. The Committee, however, acted in good faith, but made the mistake of thinking that the general meeting would see things with their eyes. At this meeting all those who voted had to sign the minutes of the proceedings. Dr. O'Farrell was chosen President of the new Committee, and his term started with a deficit of nearly eleven thousand dollars. His Committee seem to have made a very good beginning, for in the following June they were able to announce that they had cleared off almost all the eleven thousand dollars debt. They added, too, that the Sacred Heart nuns had purchased a place for themselves and were about to retire from the Orphanage and that the Committee was then looking for a teaching community of nuns to take over the institution, and that a general meeting would be held in August to consider this matter. The sale of the old Orphanage and the building of a new one was also to be considered, but as the crisis and revolution of that year had brought land value down to a very low level everybody was an anti-seller for the moment. The Report of the new Committee, published in September, while giving a greatly reduced number of orphans in the institution, was generally satisfactory, especially as regards the liquidating of the debt. The following statement was made by the President, Dr. O'Farrell: "It is likewise our pleasing duty to state that the Committee has had constantly in view the necessity of reforming the

internal management of the Orphanage, in order that the children may, on leaving, be in every respect fitted to hold useful and honorable positions in life, and lay the foundations of thrifty, virtuous families. That it may be so we hold three things necessary; 1st. That the Community of ladies having charge of the establishment shall act under the supervision of the Committee, thereby securing the due carrying out of the wishes of the public who support the house; 2nd. To make of the Orphanage, as far as possible, an industrial school, attaining thereby a double object—a diminution, however trifling, of the expenses of the establishment—and the instilling into the youthful breast love of work and confidence in the happy fruits of the noble principles of “Self Help”; 3rd. To devote, if not all, at least the greater part of the premises to the use of the orphans. This is necessary on sanitary grounds as well as to secure full scope for the development of the industrial school; in a word, to have the institution what it ought to be; first and foremost an Orphanage, a fact we must constantly bear in mind.” It was also stated at this meeting that the Sisters of Mercy were about to return to the Orphanage, that they would arrive at the end of the year, and that their management of the institution would be on the lines indicated in the statement just quoted.

The Dresden. About the middle of the year '87, Mr. Buckley O'Meara went to Ireland, in the name of the Argentine Government, to foment emigration to this country; Mr. John Dillon, a brother of the Dean, had also a similar commission, and the two gentlemen operated conjointly. Their progress in convincing Irish families that Argentina was the real promised land for emigrants, however, was slow, but by the end of the year 1888 they had enticed a considerable number of the humbler class, chiefly from the cities and large towns, to take the risk and try if there was anything in all the great promises. So in the month of January, '89, the famous “City of Dresden” sailed from Cork for Buenos Aires with some eighteen hundred passengers. The Irish

leaders and newspapers in Buenos Aires were opposed to this enterprise from the first, for they knew that the Government was not willing to make suitable provision for immigrants of the class the agents were likely to induce to accept their proposals, and many articles and letters were written to this effect. The scheme was also discouraged in Ireland, and to the opposition here and in the old country may be attributed the delay in getting the required number of families. I have often heard it said that some of the emigrants were convicts undergoing terms of imprisonment in Limerick and Cork Jails, who were released, on condition that they would join O'Meara's emigrants, and not return to Ireland. Be this as it may, it is well known that a small number of the immigrants were utterly unfit for the life they were expected to turn to on their arrival in Buenos Aires. These immigrants are often spoken of in very deprecatory terms by people who themselves, or their parents, came to Argentina under circumstances differing very little from those of the passengers by the "Dresden." It is hardly necessary to say that very few of our people came to this country seeking a field for the investment of their surplus cash; and it is nothing to be ashamed of that the founders of some of our wealthiest and most respected Irish-Argentine families of to-day when they came in '47 and the years immediately following that black epoch were very glad to avail of the charitable helps provided for such wants as theirs by the loving and noble souled Father Fahey. The great majority of the passengers by the "Dresden" were honest, industrious, respectable families, and many of them have proved the mettle that was in them by the success they have achieved in different walks of life in this land. The treatment they received on their arrival here was, if not actually criminal, on the part of the Argentine Government, most disgraceful, and it has turned the steps of many an emigrating Irish family to other shores than these of La Plata since then.

When the emigrants were about to sail, O'Meara wrote

as follows as to their number, character and future usefulness: "About two hundred and fifty Irish families composed of the best of the agricultural, laboring and artizan classes. Amongst these families the estanciero will find what has been a long-felt want—good, steady, honest and hard-working men, who will till his land, turning over a furrow in good old English style, mind his sheep after a few months' experience of the country's ways, with far more care and intelligence than has hitherto been shown; and, above all, those fortunate enough to secure one or two of these families can safely look forward to being well served for a number of years, and dispense with the worry of continually looking out for suitable servants. The wives and daughters of these families are cooks, parlor, house, and dairy maids, laundresses and well up to other female country work. Respecting the artizans, the heads of the families and sons are skilled carpenters, blacksmiths, joiners, fitters, etc., etc., and not to be surpassed in their trades. They have all been chosen with great care regarding character and suitability to emigrate to the Republic. To a colony each family would be a cheap acquisition at a hundred pounds."

Dineen in the "Southern Cross" and the Mulhalls in the "Standard," when their opposition to the enterprise proved unavailing, did all they could to arouse the interest of the Irish community for the decent providing of the immigrants on their arrival. Edward Mulhall, once more, tried to establish a society composed of English, Irish and Scotch, as there were people of the three nationalities amongst the immigrants, and to "unite the races who were losing caste for want of united effort." Samuel B. Hale lent his office for the purpose of holding a meeting in February, a few days before the arrival of the "Dresden," to make arrangements whereby the immigrants would be attended to. The meeting was a large one, "made up of the principal merchants, bankers and estancieros of the Province," so said Mr. John Drysdale, who presided thereat. Mr. Gartland, an Irish-American, announced through Father Gaughran

that he would take fifty families, giving each forty squares of land, about a hundred Irish acres, and means of subsistence for at least a year. The British Minister wrote to say that he was informed that accommodation would be provided at the Immigrants Hotel for the expected passengers, and that the food there was good and plentiful, as he had seen. But the Minister seems to have been very easily satisfied or wholly deceived by his informants, for here is what Father S. M. Gaughran, O. M. S., wrote of the "accommodation and food": "Allow me, an eye-witness, to give your readers some idea of the treatment which the new-arrived immigrants have received at the Hotel de Imigrantes. Anything more scandalous could not well be imagined. The 1800 passengers from the 'Dresden' were allowed to land on Saturday when the authorities well knew there was no accommodation for them. Many hundreds of these poor people had not received orders for the hotel before leaving the ship, and weary hours were spent in the struggle to get to the table where these orders were issued. Then, the orders obtained, strong men could fight their way through the throng of Italians into the dining hall, but the weak, the women and children were left supperless. It was soon evident that unless some special arrangements were made even the shelter of a roof could not be obtained. At the instance of Mr. Johnston, the Director promised to clear out the dining hall after supper and to allow the women and children to sleep there for the night. The promise was not kept. Men, women and children, hungry and exhausted after the fatigues of the day, had to sleep as best they might on the flags of the court-yard. To say they were treated like cattle would not be true, for the owner of cattle would at least provide them with food and drink, but these poor people were left to live or die unaided by the officials who are paid to look after them, and without the slightest sign of sympathy from these officials. I am told that as a result a child died during the night of exhaustion. In England those responsible would be prosecuted for manslaughter, but in this land of liberty no one

minds. On Sunday things were nearly as bad, and were it not for the generosity of Mr. Duggan and Mr. Johnston and other gentlemen, who themselves provided food and helped to serve it out, other deaths might have had to be recorded. No one who witnessed these scenes of helpless, hopeless despairing misery can forget them until his dying day; and all must pray that, until the arrangements which humanity and decency would prompt have been made, no more immigrants from the British Isles may arrive in Buenos Aires. As many of these poor people are badly clad and in want of bed-clothes, the Superioress of the Irish Convent, Calle Tucuman, 1905, kindly consents to receive clothes, blankets, etc., for the immigrants."

The "Dresden," somehow, has left an ugly memory amongst our people, although the smallest bit of fault does not attach, in connection with it, to any one but the Government and their agents, Messrs. O'Meara and Dillon. The Immigration Department of those days was, like most other Government Departments, mostly an institution for the upkeep and maintenance of a group of party hangers-on who had no more thought of honestly earning the salaries they drew, and seeking to advance the interests and raise the honor of their country than they had of believing that "gringos" (foreigners) could be anything but an injury and a menace to the country. The wealthy Irish of the city, and, indeed, all who were appealed to, did everything possible to help and relieve the immigrants, and in addition to those already referred to, the nuns of the Irish Convent, Dr. Newberry, Mr. Mullaly and Mrs. Lace earned the special gratitude of the immigrants and of all who had a sympathetic interest in them.

Running over some of the names and events worth noticing in the decade '80-'90 I may mention that Father John Peter Gormley, nephew of Mgr. Curley and native of Ireland, was ordained priest in Buenos Aires in December, '80, and died of smallpox in May, '82. In '80 there was a British American Relief Committee in Buenos Aires, on which were

Messrs. M. Duggan, M. Carroll, E. T. Mulhall, Forrester and Dean Dillon. This Mr. Carroll was the promoter of the Father Fahey Testimonial in 1865, and he took a leading part in the Irish Relief Fund movement in '80. He was a Galway man and came to Buenos Aires in the year 1860, from Manchester, as a clerk in the firm of Bates & Stokes, rising afterwards to be manager of a house of that company in Mexico and later in Lima. He seems to have been a man of considerable oratorical power, a great worker, and an organizer of more than ordinary ability; he was very pronouncedly what we now call a shoneen. He kept very forward in the Irish affairs of his day, such as they were, and made himself particularly busy getting up some sort of a reception to the chips of British royalty who visited this city in '81, thereby gaining the public thanks of the English Minister. He got his children educated in England, and died in Montevideo in 1896. Being employed in English concerns he, of course, had no alternative, when he took part in public affairs, to being more loyally English than the English themselves. Like many of our present-day Irishmen, he was as Irish as was good for his business. The Irish Hospital now being suppressed, Mr. John Browne collected from sixty persons of Irish name, \$4850 for the British Hospital.

In 1881 Father M. L. Leahy collected among the Irish Chaplains and forwarded to Archbishop Croke, "to express their sympathy for the Irish farmers," the sum of \$6500 from the following: M. L. Leahy, Edmund Flannery, Samuel O'Reilly, Mgr. Curley, Thomas Mullady, Fr. Gray, \$1000 each, and J. J. Purcell \$500. The Holy Cross College (Irish) in December, '81, at its examinations had its hall decorated with United States and Argentine flags, a select company invited, and closed its proceedings with "Auld Lang Syne!" Father Fidelis Kent-Stone presided. There was something of a movement in '82, largely the work of Michael Dinneen, to establish a kind of local Land League for the good of the landless Irish sheep farmers in Argentina. He

was then new as Editor of the "Southern Cross," sole control of which he held for about ten years, the late William Bulfin joining him as associate Editor in 1892. He retired altogether from the paper a few years later and died in his native Bandon in October, '96. Dinneen had been some time previously a professor in the University of Chili and was about to open a college in San Pedro when the editorship of the paper was offered to him. He was a highly educated man, a decidedly able writer, and he is said to have translated some of the Classics into Gaelic. It was under his control that the "Southern Cross" first began to show anything like sturdy Irish national spirit. In 1883 Dinneen reviewed Sarmiento's book, "The Conflict of Races in America," and was a little severe on the old Argentine statesman. Sarmiento was a very dogmatic kind of man and as full of the well-known native *amor propio* as any old man could be; he flew into a wild passion and abused and vilified the whole Irish race. With him Tammany Hall, the famous New York political party organization, and the Catholic Church in that city were all one, and all Irish; Father Fahey was a domineering boss who kept the Irish in ignorance under him, the Irish Nuns were not fit to be teachers of Argentines, and at home would be only servant girls, etc., etc. This outburst of the old Mason made something of an incident, for nearly all the papers took him up for the bitterness and injustice of his attack on so respected and deserving a portion of the community. There were numerous letters and articles in the press replying to him, and the "Standard," recommending that the matter be dropped, as not worth bothering so much about, very neatly remarking that the old man was only living on a worn out fame, and was now like a fallen lamp-post whose light was out and which was itself only an obstacle on the way. Don Domingo, or "Don Yo," as he used to be called, in allusion to his egotism, who was a good patriot, a generally wise statesman, and a delightful writer, was probably sorry afterwards for this unseemly fit of temper and he publicly renounced Masonry and wrote a rather sen-

sible letter advising people to cease setting Masons and clerics, natives and foreigners against each other.

The St. Patrick's Day Banquet in '84 was attended by Mayor Alvear, and ladies were present at the feast, Dinneen seems to have been the organizer of the celebration and presided. The General Brown Club was reorganized this year and changed its name to that of the Almirante Brown Club. It was Argentine, political, and open to everybody, but specially bent on "making the voices of the English-speaking Portefios heard in the Senate." It was organized and kept up by Irish, but that was all that was Irish about it—Dean Dillon was its new president. The year following another Irish club was founded, this time non-political. Dean Dillon was prominent in helping and encouraging this one too, and it soon had premises at 233 Reconquista, with a piano and billiard table of its own. Like so many other Irish clubs and societies it made a very promising start and then fell into decay and disappeared as suddenly as it had come into existence. It commenced the year '86 with a cash balance on hand and 120 town and camp members in good standing. Eight or ten of its leaders paid in a guarantee fund of \$100 each, Dinneen made an offer of 200 books to start a library with. Dr. O'Farrell, Deputy Murphy, the Sufferns, the Dean, the Editor and many other men of influence were in the club, but it went the way of all the others of its long family in Buenos Aires, in due course.

I must introduce a matter here which, as it was one of the wonders of its time among our people and for long a topic of interested conversation, may be worth keeping account of. It was the floating of the famous Curumalan Company by Edward Casey, its capitalization being four million dollars, gold, and the following being its chief assets: 100 leagues of land at \$25,000 per league, \$2,500,000; 58,400 mares at \$3 per head, \$160,200; 110 thoroughbred stallions at \$5000 each, \$55,000; 40 thoroughbred stallions at \$200 each, \$8000; 110 mares at \$200 each, \$22,000; 50 thoroughbred mares and stallions at \$1000 each, \$50,000;

22,000 cows, including a herd of fine bred animals, at \$7 each, \$154,000; 95,000 sheep, including imported rams and a fine bred flock, at \$1.50 each, \$137,500; 130 leagues of land at \$1500 per league, \$195,000; settlement estancia house, sheds, etc., \$105,000; Pigué and Arroyo Corto lands, \$107,800. The Company failed.

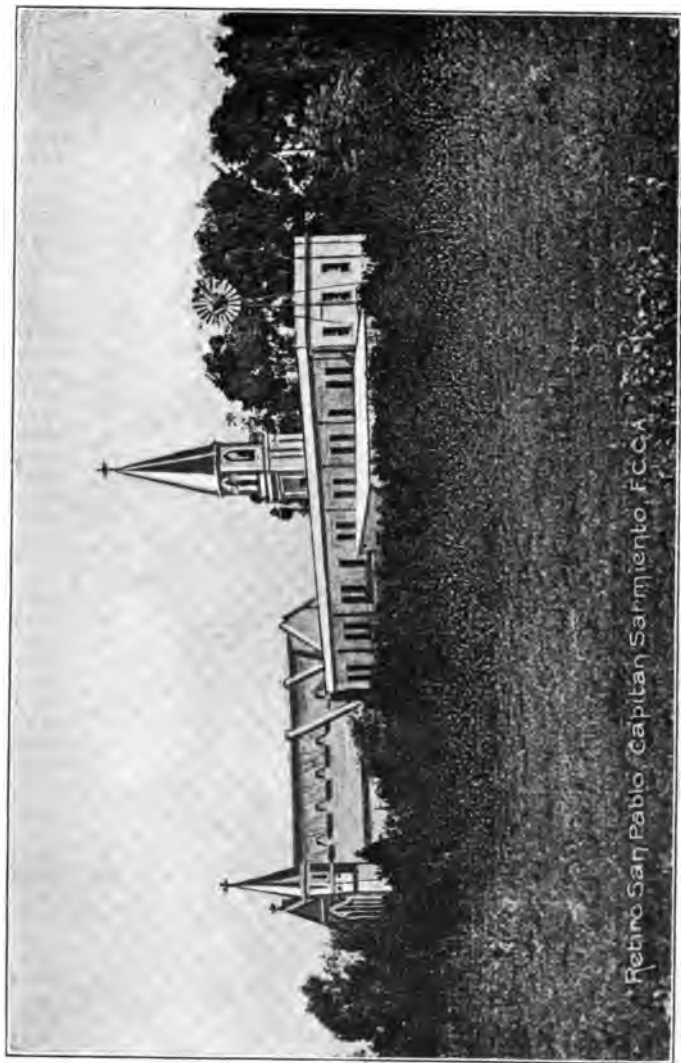
In '86 the Passionists opened their monastery, Holy Cross, and the Pallotine Fathers, B. Feeney, J. P. Banning and W. Whitmee, arrived and founded their Order in Mercedes. They at once set to collecting funds to fit up and repair the old Convent of the Sisters of Mercy and succeeded rapidly. In '82 the General Brown Club began agitating the question of a statue to the old Admiral from Mayo, to be cast from cannon taken by him at the battle of Pozos. Four years later the monument was unveiled at—the little camp town of Adrogué! Among the well-known Irishmen who died in the Eighties were Michael Murray, "Big Mickey," who came out at the age of 22, in 1835, and was one of the very early and very successful sheep-farmers. Three years later, Patrick Bookey, after half a century's residence in the country, passed away at the age of 73. Bookey took a prominent part in all Irish charitable and patriotic affairs serving as treasurer and trustee for nearly all the early Irish funds and property. Michael Duggan, the richest Irishman in Argentina, if not the richest Irishman in the world, followed the other two wealthy Westmeathmen to the better land, five years after the latter, in '88. He was forty years in the country and came when but a boy of twenty. He began, undoubtedly, at the bottom rung, and, in so far as the acquiring of wealth went, got several steps above the highest of his countrymen. He was a simple living man, charitable and generous, and always was ready to help his own people. Unlike too many of our wealthy Irish of to-day he always preferred his own countrymen in every branch of his vast business, nor thought it lent him any importance or advantage to fill the better paid posts in his concerns with men of other breed. John

Browne, another pioneer Irish settler, went home on a visit to his native Wexford and died a few weeks after his arrival. He had been nearly fifty years in Argentina. This decade was a decidedly severe one on the Irish Chaplains and priests connected with the Irish mission here, as it carried away no fewer than ten of them.

CHAPTER XXIV

RETURN OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY—SALE OF THE OLD IRISH ORPHANAGE—
BUILDING OF THE NEW ONE—THE FOUNDING OF THE BOYS' ORPHANAGE
—ITEMS FROM 1890 TO 1900.

THE last decade of the nineteenth century commences with the Sisters of Mercy back in the old Convent they founded a full generation previously, and from which they had been absent for ten years. One of their first acts on resuming their activities was to open an Irish Girls' Home. The Orphanage, which had been in financial difficulties for some years immediately before, once more made a very encouraging start. New interest was aroused and the next Report of the managing committee declared the institution out of debt, for the first time. It received nearly \$20,000 that year and had on hand at the end of the term somewhat more than \$2000; the number of orphans, however, was but slightly over sixty. The movement to sell the old property was again renewed in the following year and the Central Committee and the Passionist Fathers were negotiating a deal by which the unfinished building, now the Monastery, at Arroyo Luna, was to become the new Irish Orphanage. The majority of the Committee were in favor of the transaction—the notion of a self-supporting agricultural and industrial school being still a favorite hobby with them. So far had the arrangements in this matter gone that a great meeting was held at the new building in June, '91, to popularize the idea, and a special train was chartered to bring a contingent from Buenos Aires to see the advantages of the new place, and be convinced of the soundness of the transaction. The building up to date had cost \$73,000, owed about \$23,000, and would still need some



IRISH MONASTERY (Passionist)
at Arroyo Luna, Buenos Aires



\$15,000 or \$20,000 to finish it. Dr. O'Farrell, President of the Central Committee, Messrs. O'Curry and Suffern and several of the Irish Chaplains were present. The feeling of the meeting was undoubtedly, in so far as it was expressed, in favor of the deal. A lively newspaper correspondence, however, was started following the meeting and a strong opposition to the arrangement developed; some holding that the meeting was utterly unrepresentative of the real supporters of the Irish Orphanage, whilst others insisted that it was quite the other way. It was then reported that sickness had broken out in the old Orphanage, smallpox and measles, which was alleged as something of a reason for the selling of the place. Dr. Gannon was then giving his attendance free to the institution and received the thanks of the Committee for his services. At this same meeting of the Committee the President explained the position in which the negotiations with the Passionist Fathers stood, urging at the same time that the bargain be closed. Mr. Moore opposed the arrangement on many grounds, but chiefly because the place was so much out of the way. Dinneen would overcome this objection by placing the institution under the control of a local committee who could attend to its affairs without much inconvenience. Father O'Reilly was fully in agreement with Mr. Moore, and in addition, strongly objected to taking over a concern unfinished and in debt; his remarks were very pointed and convincing. Mr. Kenny proposed closing the bargain on condition of the building being finished and all debts paid off by the Passionist Fathers. There was a long discussion in which it was stated that Father Gray would bring out a Community of Brothers from Ireland to conduct the institution, and this further, though little known, historical fact also came to light. Mr. Moore stated that out of all the chapels and institutions the Irish people had built they had nothing they could now call their own except the Irish Orphanage, and that had gone very near slipping out of their hands like the San Salvador property which was taken over by the Jesuits on condition of always

having two Irish priests in their institution to attend to the Irish people. Dr. O'Farrell replying to this statement said, he examined the title-deeds of that property and he found not one word about any such condition in them. Mr. Suffern liked the idea of the transaction, but thought it was too important a matter to be settled by a committee meeting only, and proposed that a general meeting be called to pass on it. On a vote the bargain was decided upon by six to three, pending the sanction of a general meeting. On the news of these proceedings getting abroad, so strong became the opposition to the proposed arrangement that the Passionists withdrew their proposals, and the question was dropped. For the next couple of years the affairs of the Orphanage were prosperous, there being a balance on hand at the end of each term, while the number of children taken care of rose to above 180. But in June, 1893, at a general meeting composed of sixty-four persons it was once more decided to sell the property of the Irish Catholic Association, and another contest was inaugurated. The validity of the general meeting just held was questioned by the anti-sellers, and how strong their case was may be seen by the following letter of Mr. David Suffern. This letter is of interest here, as is obvious, for other reasons than the arguments it puts forward: "Father Fahey's will stipulates that for the sale of the grounds, etc., on which the old Convent stands, the written consent of fifty Irishmen must be obtained. At a meeting held on the 10th of September, 1889, at which nearly 100 Irishmen were present, the then elected Committee was empowered to sell, so far as talk went, but in reality, during the four years that the Committee held office, only 32 Irishmen signed the authorization. On the 18th instant, another general meeting was held at which the advisability of selling was again discussed. The newly-elected Committee was authorized to sell, and 64 signatures were attached to the authorization, but they were not signatures of 64 Irishmen. The following is an analysis of these signatures:

(a) Irishmen who signed and voted "for" the sale—Messrs. M. Dinneen, M. G. Mulhall, P. S. Conway, Patrick Cole, Felix W. Dolan, J. S. Royston, Thomas Nevin, E. J. Byrne, James Reynolds, Bernard Feeney, Edward Alpin (?), J. Foley Kelly, M. Brown, Louis Greaven, L. M. Kelly, M. C. Eustace, W. Bulfin, M. J. Kehoe, Walter Duffy, Rev. E. O'Reilly, T. F. Murphy, Rev. P. O'Grady, Robert Downey, Ed. Hanly, F. H. Mulhall, Thomas Atkinson, James Ham, Rev. H. Gray, James F. Feeney—in all 29.

(b) Irishmen who signed on understanding that they merely bore witness to result of division, but voted "against" sale—Rev. S. O'Reilly, and Messrs. Diego Carthy, James Savage, Gmo. Crinnigan, M. J. Byrne, Michael Seery, John Speirin, James Donnelly, John Cunningham, William Cavanagh—10. Irishmen: 39.

(c) Argentines who signed and voted "for" sale—Messrs. S. G. O'Farrell, Ed. Tormey, John Moore, Michael Brennan, J. F. Gahan, Stgo. Connaughton, T. A. Gahan, W. J. Dillon, Rev. José Geoghegan, Stgo. Kenny, T. F. Kenny, José Murray, R. McGovern, Dionisio Harrington,¹ Juan Leonard—15.

(d) Argentines who signed but voted "against" sale—Ed. Morgan, G. M. Mooney, and David Suffern—3.

(e) Argentines, "menores de edad" (minors), who signed, and voted for sale—G. R. Kenny, Thomas Gahan—2.

(f) Orientales who signed and voted "for" sale—E. Kenny, Rd. Kenny.

(g) North Americans who signed and voted "for" sale—C. H. Doherty and John F. Cochrane.

(h) Englishmen who signed and voted "against" sale—Rev. J. J. C. Petty.

Different nationalities, 25; total signatures, 64.

I have been somewhat lengthy in the analysis so as to give all who were present an opportunity of impugning it. If I have classified any Irishman as Argentine or vice versa

¹ Mr. Harrington corrected, saying that he was Irish-born.

and the gentlemen write to me (my address is 2063 Cordoba) before 5th of July next, and on his honor point out the mistake, I will rectify with same publicity as this, but one or two errors will not alter the main point at issue. As the validity of the authorization to sell rests solely on the signatures of Irishmen, I will leave the 25 of different nationalities on one side and deal only with the 39.

(a) Frs. O'Grady and Gray and Mr. J. F. Kelly did not vote although they signed—the first as per letter—and when the division took place the other two gentlemen were making out the scrutiny of the election. To avoid discussion, however, I will admit that all three voted for the sale, and I will even admit that through some subtlety of the law the ten signatures of (b) may be construed into having acquiesced in it; but twist and torture logic as you will you cannot make 50 out of 39. Consequently, the 18th of June authorization is utterly useless and the new Committee cannot act upon it. Father Fahey's foresight has thus three times (sale to S. H. Nuns, 1889, '93 Committee and 18th of June attempt) saved the Convent, and the fact that it has not yet been possible to get 50 Irishmen to consent to the sale clearly proves their views on the matter. (Whilst I write, Irishmen are signing protests in Arrecifes, Giles, San Antonio and other "partidos" against 18th of June attempt.) Hitherto the resistance to the sale has been only of a passive nature, and if another general meeting be called with this object let camp Irishmen come into town and in unmistakable terms make known their wishes to the effect that "it is the unalterable decision of the Irish community not to sell the Irish Convent and Orphanage." To conclude we must now not "rest on our laurels" but "be up and doing." The Orphanage cannot continue as at present. It is only the forbearance of the Board of Health that allows the actual number of inmates. An effort must be made to rebuild, and for this money must be forthcoming. Let subscription lists be started at once in camp and town. Let the wealthy give their thousands and the poor their mite, but let us all give.

If money cannot be obtained, and as the place is not to be sold, there remains but one alternative—turn out the Orphans, close the doors of the establishment, and then to our everlasting shame place over it the following inscription: "Here was the Irish Orphanage."

In the discussion which the June general meeting called forth, a lady wrote that Father Fahey bought the portion of the Rio Bamba property on which was the Irish Hospital, expressly for that purpose, and that portion of the Hospital was to be a home for old men, and that the property was never intended by him to be used for anything else. It is strange that while Father Fahey's "will," as to the selling of the property, has been stickled for so hard and so long, scarcely anybody has bothered, since soon after his death, to respect his wishes as regards the Irish Hospital and home for old men.

In the September following a general meeting gathered, Father Flannery presiding. Dr. O'Farrell pressed his plan for the sale of the old and the building of a new Orphanage. Here are some of the figures: \$250,000 could be got for the old place, a suitable site of 13,300 square varas could be got for \$40,000, and by expending \$150,000 on a building to hold 300 there would still be \$50,000, or more, to be invested in house property as an endowment to the institution. Not to sell would entail the collecting of \$150,000 to make the necessary repairs and additions, the Municipality insisting that the present building ought to only house 60 children. Father Flannery gave place to Mr. M. G. Mulhall, in order to speak in support of the sale. Mr. Suffern strongly opposed it, and Mr. E. J. Byrne stated that the property, at the way property was selling in the neighborhood, was worth more than \$300,000. Recent sales close by had brought \$35 the vara, and there were 10,000 square varas in the Convent and Orphanage grounds. In the discussion as to finding a suitable out-of-town site, Father O'Reilly suggested Lujan as the most convenient; others had, of course, other sites they thought more favorable, and it ap-

peared that a sale was certain to be agreed to, yet when it came to counting the votes it was found that 81 were against a sale and but 31 in favor of the proposal.

The Central Committee finding their plans had not the public approval, resigned, and a new, anti-selling Committee, of which James Carthy and David Suffern were president and secretary, respectively, was elected. This new administration found its task—that of keeping the Orphanage running and at the same time complying with the demands of the Health Department—so impossible that it called a general meeting in the following December and presented its resignation. A new Committee was then chosen on the understanding that the old institutions would have to be sold, and that as soon as possible. Dinneen presided at this meeting, and there was a very lively passage at arms between him and Mr. Andrew Geoghegan, because of some remarks Geoghegan made about the Irish. Dinneen was a very *fighty* man—someone once called him the *fighting editor*—and Geoghegan was not a bit more meek than he, and it was an odd and somewhat pathetic thing to see that day the only really turbulent spirits in the assembly, of about 60 men, were two of the oldest of those present. The late Dr. McDonnell, who has since figured so prominently in Irish Catholic Association affairs, then lately returned from Rome, made his first appearance at an I. C. A. meeting that day. Bulfin and E. J. Byrne acted as tellers in the election, Suffern serving as secretary. The new Committee appointed a sub-committee, to treat for the sale of the institutions, consisting of Dr. O'Farrell, Patrick Ham and Felix Dolan. General meetings and extraordinary general meetings were the regular order then, and in the following February another one met; O'Farrell presided and there were 120 people present, 71 of whom were Irish born, of these 66 approved of the selling of the Convent and Orphanage and the long contest on that point was ended.

The names of those taking part in this meeting merit being recorded and so I will give them following. Members

of Committee present: O'Farrell, Suffern, Ham, Byrne, Dolan, Dinneen, Greaven, Moore, O'Grady, Gannon. Irishmen who *signed* for sale: John Kenny, Wm. Kavanagh, J. S. Meaney, O. Burrows, J. Richards, S. Barry, J. McCormick, M. Browne, Wm. Quinn, M. Finnegan, J. Sperin, F. Duffy, D. Ronan, P. Whelan, E. Hannon, J. Donnelly, T. Duggan, G. Foley, E. J. Byrne, Wm. Leyden, P. Doherty, J. P. Ryan, M. Eustace, P. S. H. Conway, Wm. Ussher, Luke Doyle, J. Moore Kelly, A. Ennis, P. Dunne, J. Dunne, P. Feely, Mr. Doherty, Wm. Bulfin, B. Feeney, M. Duggan, P. Byrne, Patrick Cole, N. Cunningham, T. Daly, M. McInes, P. A. Mulhall, M. Hearne, N. Fitzgerald, A. Daly, E. Hearne, J. Keegan, M. Murphy, J. Kenny, D. Kiernan, J. Cunningham, J. Bowen, J. Gallagher, P. McCarthy, J. Shields, T. Nevin, J. Kilduff, L. Daly, M. Dowling, R. Hammond, J. Savage, T. F. Murphy, J. Loughlin, John Burke.

Next year, in the month of April, the property was sold to the Christian Brothers. The transaction was pushed through in such a hurry and so secretly that not even all the Committee knew about the bargain being closed. Father O'Grady at once resigned his membership as a protest against this unnecessary hurry and secrecy. In the published criticisms of the sale it was shown that lands within a few squares of the Irish property were sold for from \$50 to \$100 per square vara, cash down, while that of the Orphanage was negotiated at \$40 per square vara, the price to be paid in instalments running over a period of some six or seven years, the outstanding balance to bear interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. The bargain seems to have been a most extraordinary one; the papers of the time may be consulted for very full information on the question. In February of 1897 a meeting was held in Mr. Ham's office at which the Committee decided to buy from Mr. Thomas Duggan, for the lump sum of \$90,000, the land on which the Orphanage now stands, containing, it was announced, 115,000 square varas. It was further announced that of this sum, \$50,000, bequeathed by the late Michael Duggan

to the Orphanage, would be considered already paid, leaving the Committee to provide only \$40,000. The proposed cost of the new building would be \$150,000, the institution to have a chapel and accommodation for 200 children and a staff of nuns sufficient to teach and care for that number of inmates. In the following May the Committee, Messrs. O'Farrell, Byrne, Moore, Gannon, Carthy, Suffern, Feeney, Ham, Dolan, Fitzgerald, Greaven, Fitzsimmons, Duggan and Murphy, met at the Orphanage and accepted the plans of Messrs. Inglis and Thomas. The plans were highly praised by the Committee for their "architectural beauty, general distribution, comfort and hygiene."

The sale of the old buildings with the discussion of the transaction which followed must have greatly dulled the public interest, for a general meeting to elect officers for a new term, held in the following October, only brought together 85 persons, the solitary representative of the camp Irish being J. Kegan of Navarro. Dr. O'Farrell, presiding, took care at this meeting to explain that the \$50,000 allowed by Mr. Thomas Duggan in part payment for the land purchased from him by the Committee was given "in fulfillment of the late Michael Duggan's dying wish." He further announced that the late Thomas Gaynor of Piran had left half his fortune, some \$70,000, to the Orphanage. At this meeting it was proposed to give a square of land and \$50,000, as a gift, to the committee of the Boys' Orphanage. The proposal, however, on being questioned, was dropped for the time being, but two years later, on the motion of Mr. Bulfin, it was agreed by majority of a general meeting to give 10,000 yards of the land, where the present Hurling Field is, corner of Nauquen and Bellavista, to the Ladies of St. Joseph for this purpose.

In February, 1899, the new Orphanage was occupied and on March 19 was formally opened. The Central Committee in control, had already become very unpopular with the masses of their countrymen. The selling of the old and the building of the new Orphanage were transactions any-

thing but satisfactory, and when it was found at the formal opening of the institution that the Irish Nuns had been replaced by Italian Sisters, the English flag raised at the inauguration and the English Minister brought out to patronize the function there was much disquieting suspicion and general indignation. Added to all this, the accounts of the Association were mixed up in Mr. Ham's business accounts, and could not be publicly audited, so when the next general meeting came on, September following the opening of the new place, the Committee's Report was, on the motion of Mr. Padraic McManus, seconded by Mr. Patrick McCarthy, rejected. Several of the Committeemen resigned, and until a new Committee was elected, in the following March, the requisite number of members to duly constitute a business meeting of the Committee could not be got together, although nearly all the gentlemen forming the Committee lived in the Capital. The general meeting of March, 1900, is interesting in the light of after events as well as for the proceedings thereat. Father Patrick O'Grady and Rev. Dr. McDonnell acted as chairman and secretary, respectively, and both were proposed for these honorable positions by Mr. McManus. The meeting had to elect a Central Committee, and immediately on the polls being declared nine of the gentlemen selected declined the trust reposed in them; the nine coming next highest on the poll were then announced as elected, and four of these refused to serve. The difficult condition in which the outgoing Committee had left the affairs of the Association being given as the reason for not being willing to take on themselves such a responsibility. In presence of the outcry we hear in these times against Committees of the I. C. A. it will be to the point to include here an extract from one of the many letters which then appeared in the press criticizing the Committee that had been deposed; it might be taken almost as an extract from some of the criticisms being published at the present time. After referring to the various refusals to act on the new Central Committee, says the critic

in question: "Could any censure or reproof for bad management be more complete? The men responsible for bringing the only Irish institution we have to its present deplorable condition count without their host when they imagine they can get the priests to again act on a Committee with them." However, a Committee having the confidence of the Irish people was soon after got together, and one of their first official acts was to issue a statement of the conditions they were confronted with. It commenced by explaining that the Christian Brothers, who then owed the Association \$172,000, with some back interest, were willing now to pay off this sum at a discount of 10 per cent. The Association at the time being paying 9 per cent for money borrowed by the previous Committee agreed to make terms with the Brothers at a discount rate of 8 per cent. The arrangement was duly entered into, but because of some delay that was suffered in the getting through of the legal documents and formulas the Brothers claimed an interest of some \$1300, which claim, however, they settled by taking half that amount. These gentlemen, notwithstanding the inexplicably favorable terms they had got out of the Irish Catholic Association, seem to have been anything but friendly in their dealings with the institution, and they practically pulled down the old Orphanage over the heads of the children and the Sisters before the new buildings were ready to receive them. It is a remarkable fact, and one that I would very much rather not to have to record, that in every deal we have had in connection with this property since Father Fahey's transfer of the grounds of the Salvador to the Jesuits down to the Salesian architect's bunglings of a few years ago, our people have always got the worst of the bargains. No wonder that the great majority of them are opposed to any such transactions at the present time! With all the deductions and discounts the Committee received very nearly \$164,000. Of this amount \$94,000 went to pay a debt due Mr. Ham, and the statement went on to say the architects were owing a sum not exactly known, that there

was a lawsuit by the builders for \$48,000 pending, and that a large sum was needed to make some urgent repairs on the new building. Because of all these debts, dues and demands the Committee had to make a strong appeal to the public for subscriptions to keep the institution going. And this within a few years after the sale of the old property and the fine Gaynor bequest! The statement I have been referring to was signed by the following Committee: Rev. Father Flannery, Rev. L. E. McDonnell, P. Ham, Rev. Patrick O'Grady, E. Tormey, D. Morgan, Rev. J. M. Ussher, Rev. M. Quinn, M. J. Byrne, Frank Rath, James Connaughton, L. Casey, Edward Morgan, John Moore, James Carthy, P. Dowling. From the death of Father Fahey, 29 years previously, the Irish Convent and property had been under the control of the non-nationalist, or what has come to be called the "Shoneen," element of our community, and during that time the Irish Hospital was suppressed, the Irish Nuns twice removed from the institutions, the Irish property disposed of three or four times, in as far as the controllers could dispose of it, and finally the disastrous transactions touched upon in the foregoing pages were consummated. The history of the institution since the expulsion of the element referred to has not been in every way satisfactory, but great advancement has been made on the old order of things. The institution is now a truly Irish-Argentine one, with a right purpose and right ideals, and guided by a spirit which reflects credit on the free land and faithful old race to which it belongs. It has always had brave and generous friends; its property, at a moderate calculation, is at present worth over two million dollars, current money; that it exists at all is due to the good sense and good spirit of the common people who so often gathered to its rescue in days of danger.

Soon after the "Dresden" immigrants were settled in Napostá little items of news began to find their way back to Buenos Aires, to the effect that things were not progressing satisfactorily in the new colony, and by the end of 1890 reports of keen distress, even hunger, among the unhappy

people were in general circulation. Great efforts were made by some charitable people to tide the colonists over what was thought would be but a passing spell of unpropitious happenings; but the wail from that then far-off land continued to come more piercing and appealing, and early in 1891 the colony had to be brought back to Buenos Aires. The years had come bad. There was revolution, and, as a consequence or a cause thereof, that frequent and hope-destroying condition of Argentine economic life, "the crisis," was on the land. Mr. Gartland suffered like everyone else who speculated, and was unable to do all he had promised, and undoubtedly meant to do, for the colonists, so in the first months of the year the greater part of the settlers arrived in Buenos Aires, in the greatest distress and misery. Proposals were made to send the weary and disappointed families to the Delvalle lands in Pehuajo, but while arrangements to this effect were under way it was seen that something should be done for those who were unfit for any kind of camp work. The female children whose parents were unable to take care of them were admitted to the Irish Orphanage, and a movement was started for the founding of an institution, more or less similar to the Girls' Orphanage, in which needy boys could be taken care of. The first public steps in this direction seem to have been made, some say at the suggestion of the Governor of Buenos Aires, others at that of the British Minister, on the 17th of April, when a meeting was held at the Irish Orphanage to undertake the matter. Fathers O'Reilly, Gray, Dr. O'Farrell and some other gentlemen were present, and it was announced that the Government would contribute \$4000 towards the support of an orphanage and school if founded, and in addition provide school furniture. The meeting decided to call the new organization "The Fahey Institute," and that it should be managed and controlled by ladies. The following were thereupon chosen for this work: Mrs. M. Mulhall, Mrs. Dr. Hanly, Mrs. Thomas Duggan, Miss Ryan, Mrs. Dr. O'Farrell, Mrs. Nelson, Mrs. Achaval, Mrs. Dr. Murphy,

Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. Dillon, Mrs. Lacroz, Mrs. Martin, Mrs. Galbraith, Mrs. MacAdam, Mrs. J. Duggan, Mrs. H. Duggan, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Carthy, Mrs. Garraghan, Mrs. Kirk, Mrs. Kelly, and Miss Moore. Soon after a house of six rooms was rented from the Lazarist Fathers, for \$80 monthly, at 146 Calle Cochabamba. Messrs. M. Mulhall and T. Duggan were named treasurers, and the Government donation was promptly handed in. The idea of a boys' orphanage was among the dreams and hopes of Father Fahey, and others after his death, notably Father M. L. Leahy and Dean Dillon, had urged its need, and now that it was more of a necessity than ever it was well taken up, and subscriptions came in so generously that from the very start the undertaking became a success. So, on the 19th of May, 1891, with thirty-three boys of the returned colonists of Napostá, the institution opened. The terms made with Father Freret were \$80, currency, per month for rent of house, and \$4.10, gold, per head per month, for support and teaching of the boys. Thus was founded the Boys' Orphanage—an institution that was very much needed and that has done a great deal of good amongst our community.

The Rules governing the institution, as published in 1892, read as follows: 1st. That none but destitute children be admitted, and that all are free of charge. 2nd. That the Orphanage be open equally to all English-speaking boys between the ages of five and ten years, and that in the case of Protestants they must bring a written request from Her Majesty's Consul or from one of the resident Protestant clergymen. 3rd. That no child having any infectious disease be admitted. The management of the new institution were looking out for a more suitable location and concern for their Orphanage from the beginning, and of the many sites suggested the one in Capilla del Señor was chosen, at a cost of \$8500, the area of land then secured being 2400 square varas. The new establishment was placed under the care of Mother Catherine Dowlan, of the Order of St. Joseph, an Irish nun, with two Argentine Sisters, and on the 5th of

April, 1893, was occupied. It afforded accommodation for 100 boys then; it has since been enlarged and improved considerably.

Of the minor events of the last tenth of the nineteenth century in Buenos Aires not very many are worth recording, but a few of particular interest must be noted to correct some popular mistakes and to help to round out the chapter. There had for some time been murmurings and hints as to certain moneys collected by Father Leahy for the raising of a tribute to Father Fahey's memory. Where was the money? What became of it? Who got it? and so on. In 1892 Mr. M. J. Byrne asked, through the press, if it was known what had become of it, and the Editor of the "Standard," than whom there was then no one living better posted in the matter, replied to the inquiry to this effect: The money collected by Father Leahy was used to pay the expenses of Father Fahey's burial, but was not sufficient to this end, a balance of \$10,000, old money, about two hundred dollars gold, remaining short. The committee who had the matter in hand borrowed this sum from the following gentlemen: M. Duggan, John Hughes, T. Gahan, Kenny Bros., M. and E. Mulhall, \$2000 each. This amount was still due the lenders, but it was mentioned that they had practically renounced all claim to it. I have often heard it said that Thomas Armstrong defrayed the expenses of Father Fahey's funeral, but from this it appears that he must only have provided the money necessary on the moment and that the fund referred to was devoted to its repayment, no debt remaining over save that to those mentioned. Another fund about which there was some question was that on hand at the time of the historic "Parnell Split." This money was, of course, subscribed for Irish political purposes, and, as amongst our countrymen everywhere else in the world, the Split divided our ranks here, some standing by Parnell and some facing the other way, so for some time an agreement could not be come to as to which division of the old Party this money should be paid to. In February, '94, however,

some £400, almost all the money then in the treasurer's hands, were remitted to Justin MacCarthy for the benefit of the Irish Evicted Tenants. It is well that these things should be made known and the truth plainly recorded, for rumors of any misapplying of funds raised for public purposes work for the discredit of our community and the weakening of the confidence and trust we need and ought to have in each other.

From their early years in Buenos Aires the Sisters of Mercy were owed a sum of money by Father Fahey, and through him by the Irish people; some said the amount of this sum was three hundred pounds, others said it was considerably more, but whatever the exact figure ought to have been, when the old Convent was sold the Sisters were given a sum of twenty-five thousand pesos, currency, with which to provide themselves with a Convent. They immediately began this work and on the 1st of November, 1896, Archbishop Castellanos laid the foundation stone of their present home, Estados Unidos and 24 de Noviembre Streets. It is now the parent house of the Irish Sisters of Mercy in Argentina and has a fine boarding school and a large free school for girls. The boarders are, of course, mostly Irish-Argentine girls, but girls of other nationalities are also admitted.

In 1896 Dr. L. E. McDonnell, with the following committee, founded a Catholic Total Abstinence Society in the South City district: M. Hart, E. J. Brown, T. W. Kennedy, W. Brown, M. Burke, J. Barber, J. Holmes, D. McCarthy, W. McKlusky and T. E. Gormley. The society did some good work while it lasted, but amongst a class of men whose employment shifts them about a good deal from place to place it is hard to keep such an organization together for very long, and in time it dwindled away.

When the Gaelic League of Ireland was six years old, and had already become a movement plainly with a destiny before it, the advanced Irish nationalists of Buenos Aires felt the time had come when they should not alone proclaim their allegiance to Irish Ireland but lend a willing hand in the work of its realization. So, in May, 1889, the first

branch of the Gaelic League of Argentina was founded at a meeting in the Passionist Monastery. The undertaking was well organized and carried out and met with ready and generous support, the membership of the branch immediately running up to 170. The committee to manage the organization elected at this meeting was composed of J. E. O'Curry, President; Patrick Conway, Vice-President; D. Suffern, Treasurer; James Savage, Pro-Treasurer; Michael O'Brien, Secretary; Padraic McManus, Pro-Secretary. The Gaelic movement took sudden and strong hold on the Irish people here, and no other community, anywhere, in proportion to its numbers, has given more generous financial aid to carry on the struggle at home, ever since, than have the Gaels of Argentina.

Somewhat earlier than the coming, in organized form, of Irish Ireland to Buenos Aires another Irish club had been started under the name of the Portefeño Club. Like so many of its predecessors it had a fairly promising start, and as an actual, living organization worked its way out beyond the limits of this book's reach and right into the twentieth century. It was of the social order, a manner of society there ought to be very ample room for amongst our people in this great Capital.

The first item in this story of the Irish in Argentina introduces the, even then, old and bitter quarrel between the Irish and the English nations. Field had to be specially persecuted by the English pirates, into whose hands he had fallen, for no other reason than that he was an Irishman. The last incident to be noted in the century which ended more than three hundred years later is itself a part of the same old quarrel. England is, as usual, out pirating; not South America but South Africa is the scene of her operations this time, the two Boer Republics are being destroyed. The sympathy of Irishmen everywhere went forth to the victimized Republics, and how otherwise could it be with their own memories? There was then an English priest, Father Vaughan, in Buenos Aires, collecting money, mostly

from the Irish, and he set to organizing a great high mass for the fallen English soldiers at which the Irish priests and people were called on to assist, and so show Argentina that they were a party, in sympathy at least, to the piracy. What happened was that the Irish priests and people protested vehemently against turning a sacred rite to the use of effecting a mere political trick, and as an expression of their true feelings organized a solemn memorial mass for the fallen in the Boer cause. So unpopular became Father Vaughan's proposal, when fully exposed, that he had to abandon the idea altogether, whilst the services held for the victims of his Government brought together an immense concourse of Irish-Argentine people and their friends. The incident did not betray very real religious spirit on either side, and that such occurrences have to take place is to be deplored, but they are inevitable, and they will last and grow more serious while England persists in her injustice to Ireland.

CHAPTER XXV

IN SANTA FÉ AND OTHER PROVINCES

THE first settlement of our people in Santa Fé is well within the memory of men not yet very old, but so far as I know only one of what might be called the first settlers is still left to tell the tale. Thomas Armstrong acquired vast estates in this province years before sheep-farming, as a real industry, extended to such a distance from the Capital, and on his lands on the upper Pavon he had some Irishmen employed as early as 1860. A few years later some families crossed the provincial border into the Peyrano district, and the earliest purchase of land, by an Irishman, I have heard of was effected in that locality in '64. In the following year the testimonial to Father Fahey had four subscribers from Pavon, already, however, there were a few Irish families settled in Rosario, attracted thither, no doubt, by the new railway works started in the beginning of '68.

When Hutchinson visited the battle-ground of Pavon, a few months after the historic fight, there were no Irish in the district. In 1865 the Widow Garrahan, with her sons, Timothy and James, settled at Arroyo Seco, and they were the first of our people, in the sheep-raising business, who got so far north. The next year brought a little colony of four families from Baradero, with some seven or eight thousand sheep. This was the first really important trek to Santa Fé, the treckers being James Conway, Michael Grennon, Daniel Ryan and Michael Murray, the latter the only one of the four now surviving. They settled midway between the Arroyo del Medio and the Pavon on the estate of Señor Nuñez. The Garrahans were Longford people, and Tim

Garrahan had the fame of being the tallest Irishman in Argentina; the other four families were from the borders of Westmeath and Kings County, and were closely akin to each other. Sheep were then so scarce in Santa Fé and of so poor a quality that the flocks of the newcomers were regarded with wonder and admiration by the natives. The largest flocks theretofore in that district numbered only a few hundred and were, comparatively, of very inferior quality.

The constant spread of the area needed for sheep-raising in Buenos Aires province, the consequent upper tendency of rents and the good accounts being heard of the Santa Fé camps soon brought many more settlers, and by a dozen years or so from the coming of the pioneers the Pavon region and the lands on to Aceval and Saladillo were pretty fully occupied with Irish sheepfarmers, amongst whom may be found the following Wexford names: Pierce, Mitty, Donnelly, Hogan, Mackey, Scallon, Jordan, Martin, Hier, Fortune, Cardiff, etc., whilst Hammond, McGuire, Mahon, Seery, O'Connor, Murray, Boohan and Metcalf came to reinforce the Westmeath detachment. Ussher and Shannahan were from Galway and Cork respectively. These are only a few of the first settlers, and who are nearly all represented in the district still.

In 1865 an enterprising gentleman from County Clare, named Henry Barclay, came to Santa Fé with the purpose of obtaining a grant of land from the Government of the Province whereon to establish a colony of his county people. The negotiations in the affair were slow and unsatisfactory, and Barclay died in Rosario before anything came of them. The next couple of years saw the sheepmen penetrate as far outward as Melincué and as far northward as Roldan. Among the migrants of this year, '67, came Patrick O'Shea from the district of San Antonio de Areco, getting, as the Pole seekers used to say, farthest north, with sheep, up to his time. Three years later his son, Patrick, entered the Franciscan Order in San Lorenzo, and in time became one of the best known Irish priests in the country. As this

Franciscan became the most noted and beloved, so far, among our Santa Fé colony a little sketch of his life here will be to the point.

He came with his parents and other members of his family from Moyglass in the County of Wexford when he was but three years old, and grew up with them in the district of San Antonio. In his twenty-first year he entered the Monastery and ten years later was ordained to the priesthood. In the fifteen years of his life as a priest he filled all the posts of honor and responsibility in his community and in the last year of his life founded a new house of his Order, that at Echosurtu in Rosario. He had an extraordinary faculty for acquiring languages, and as well as in Spanish, preached in English, Basque, Italian, German, French, and in various dialects of Italian. These linguistic acquirements made him specially effective as a missionary, and there was not a colony of Europeans in Santa Fé Province that he did not minister in. His visits to the Indian tribes, which his Order had done so much to civilize and protect, were rich in good to the wild people and plentiful in dangers and hardships for the missionary. But Father O'Shea did not confine his missionary labors wholly or even chiefly to the struggling colonists from the European continent or the savage communities of the desert. It is quite safe to say that there was not an Irish family in Santa Fé, in his time, that he did not find out and visit, especially in the days before there was established a regular Irish Chaplaincy in Rosario, while throughout the Province of Buenos Aires he was as well known as any of the official Irish Chaplains. A man of vast experience and keen sense of humor, it was not strange that he had a wonderful fund of stories, comical, and of adventures among the untamed aborigines and the scarcely less rude colonists of the remote settlements, and no one could recount a tale with more drollery and grace than he could. Many and pleasant are the stories and sayings he has left among his people, and they are still remembered and retold when some incident or recollection brings

the simple-minded, kindly-hearted Franciscan, and patriotic Irishman, to the minds of those who knew and loved him in the old days. He was a man above the medium in height, well formed, dark complexioned, with a round, pleasant, though not handsome, face. In some attack on a remote mission by bad Indians he suffered several wounds, one of which disfigured his nose very much, but this disfigurement did not bother him greatly and it helped to give point to more than one or two of his jokes.¹ The present writer had a friend long ago in Rosario, who at times had the habit of getting too festive, and on these occasions he usually knocked his nose, which was naturally large, against something, even, I am sorry to say, it not infrequently came in contact with mother earth herself. Father O'Shea met him one day while the traces of some of these collisions were still painfully visible, and looking at him with an air of comic sympathy he asked: "Musha, Mike, what happened your nose?" "Oh, Father," Mike answered, a little perturbed, as he feared a lecture, for his questioner could give a very biting one when he wanted to, "I was looking for something in the dark and knocked against the back of a chair." The priest closed up his lips very tightly, gave an expressive shake of his head and merely commented: "Well, Mike, if you keep on looking for things in the dark like that you'll soon have as handsome a nose as my own."

His life was one of incessant labor, in all circumstances and conditions, yet no one ever came in contact with him but was brightened and cheered by his pleasant word or timely joke. He fell sick in his new monastery at Echosurtu, returned to the old house in San Lornezo and passed to the reward of his goodness in the first days of 1895. He brought into his Order two young Irish Argentines, the late Father Nicholas Metcalf and the present Father Lorenzo C. Murray, both natives of the Parish of Zarate, and who were

¹ There is also the story that Fr. O'Shea got this injury by a half blind coach driver running into a lamp-post with him once upon a time when he was hurrying to catch a train.

ordained to the priesthood in the years 1899 and 1900, respectively.

The lands occupied by the Irish sheepfarmers in Santa Fé, extending along the Parana, at the beginning, up close to Rosario and westward some eight or ten leagues from the great river, were amongst the best sheep camps in all the country, and those who settled there made fortunes fast. A sheep-man from Pavon, Timothy Galvin, published a statement in the latter Seventies, to the effect that in two years he made sufficient money, from one flock of sheep, to retire on to Ireland. Of course this is not a very definite statement, as he does not mention how much his sufficiency should amount to, but ordinary flocks were said to yield as much as twelve or fifteen hundred dollars, gold, per annum, clear profit, which in those days was a quite considerable sum. The region, as might be expected, soon became overrun with sheep, and no part of the Republic was more thickly settled with Irish families till the last five or six years of the century, when agriculture became more profitable than pasturage, and flocks had to, like Horace Greeley's young man, go west. But the early settlers had the wisdom and good fortune to invest their savings in the purchase of land, and to-day a large proportion of the pretty and comfortable estancias all across southern Santa Fé and far into Cordoba are the property of happy and prosperous Irish-Argentine families.

With the crossing of the Arroyo del Medio by the first Irish sheepfarmers coincides pretty closely the first settling of Irishmen in the city of Rosario. The place had then about twenty thousand inhabitants, some one-half of whom were foreign-born. Although up to a short while before this period the town was of little or no importance it was not without a very interesting history, as far as it went back. Francisco Godoy brought a little band of tame Indians, Calchaquilles, from the north of the Province and established them, in 1725, at what was then called Paso de los Arroyos. This little tribe had been Christianized and in their chapel

had a greatly beloved image of the Virgin of the Rosary, which image had a history somewhat like that of the Virgin of Lujan, and great miracles were believed to have been effected through devotion to Our Lady, as represented in this statue. The fame of these miracles spreading abroad into other districts and towns many people came from great distances to the little chapel to make offerings to, and receive favors from, the Ever Blessed Mother, so that the place came to be known far and near as the Capilla del Rosario de los Arroyos,¹ later shortened to Capilla del Rosario, and finally to Rosario, as at present commonly known.

In 1801, Tuella, a Spanish government official in the place, wrote that the town had eighty houses, all told, and probably some three hundred inhabitants. Santa Fé was not then, nor for long after, a Province, and the district, which ran from the Carcarañá river southward to the Arroyo del Medio and westward from the Paraná as far as the Indians allowed, had about six thousand of a population, and was part of the Province of Buenos Aires. It may be of some consolation, although surely of no encouragement, to gardeners and fruit growers in this many-ways favored region to know that when the chronicler just named wrote his record of Rosario the chief pest of the whole district was the black ants. They were the great enemy of all fruit and vegetable cultivation, and after one hundred years' struggle to destroy them they are still the bane and despair of the man who tries to keep a garden or an orchard. Rosario has the honor of being the scene of the first raising of the Argentine national flag. At half-past six o'clock on the evening of February 27, 1812, in front of the town, Belgrano flung to the breeze, for the first time, the glorious White and Blue as a banner for his people. But this is not the only glory of the district. Not quite a year from this date went by when San Martin gave the locality another classic day in that mighty charge of his cavalry down from the Monas-

¹ Chapel of the Rosary of the Streams.

tery of San Lorenzo on the approaching and fated Spaniards. Balcarce burned the place in the civil wars of 1819—only 16 out of 180 houses escaping the destruction. Urquiza made the town his headquarters when mobilizing for his march to Caseros, and it was he, soon after, established it a city and a port. The plagues of cholera and yellow fever scourged it piteously in the Sixties, as I have mentioned in referring to the noble services of Hutchinson and his wife in those days of trial.

Of the small Irish colony in the city in '67, one, William Fitzpatrick, a Queens County man, was drowned in the Paraná and later Barclay succumbed to one of the prevailing plagues. The first Irish names I find as of people in public business are those of James Keenan and William Kehoe. The Irish colony was quite small in the city when Keenan started his hotel in the "Bajada," and it was for many years the rendezvous or club, as it were, of our people whether campmen, town residents, or newcomers, and continued so up to Keenan's death in '88. To the Irish Relief Fund started in 1880 I find the following contributors, and they include nearly all the Irish families then in Rosario and the district outside: James Keenan, T. C. Donovan, John Shea, Thomas Frayne, E. Hayes, Peter Boland, Thos. Jeremiah, W. H. Lane, J. Marshall, Walter Gregory, E. Scallan, Stephen Mackey, P. Jordan, P. Cowan, L. Walsh, R. Hammond, J. Pierce, N. Hogan, Phil Hier, John Donnelly, S. Gaul, P. Cullen, Mr. J. Cleary, Mrs. P. Cullen, John Kehoe, Daniel Ryan, Louis Mitty, W. S., E. E. T., F. Doyle, J. Gaynor, Mrs. Garrahan, Mrs. A. Garrahan, M. J. Grennon, James Conway, Mike Murray, Mrs. B. Grennon, John O'Brian, Hugh Fergus, Ben Lea, R. Thompson, J. G. Bruce, E. V. Macken, G. Baker, Rev. J. R. Wood, J. M. Gay, W. Kehoe, H. Parkman, H. O. Gray. The result of the collection was nearly \$28,000, old money. Three years later another collection for the same purpose was made by Nicholas Hogan of Pavón amongst his neighbors, which amounted to \$2723, and which shows that those Pavoneros were very

patriotic and generous. The following were the contributors: N. Hogan, Mrs. Hogan, P. Hogan, E. Owens, L. Mitty, J. Mitty, J. Walsh, J. Pierce, Mrs. Hier, Mrs. Donnelly, Rev. J. Foran, J. Nicholson, Mrs. J. Leahy, P. Cullen, D. Ryan, M. Murray, S. Furlong, D. Whelan, Jas. Flaherty, P. Toban, J. Cleary, R. Stewart, Mrs. T. O'Toole and Patrick Lane.

The losses of sheep suffered in the bad years of the latter Eighties compelled many struggling sheepfarmers to try some other line of business, and a considerable number of those turned to railroad work, and Rosario being then the headquarters of several of the principal railway companies the Irish population of the place increased greatly in a few years. The city had already a couple of Irish doctors, McGuinness and Frend, the former well remembered by the old people, and the latter still, as for the past thirty years, the popular and trusted medical adviser of practically all the Irish community of that region of Santa Fé. But a great want then was an Irish priest who could devote all his time and zeal to his own country people, and in 1888 this desideratum was happily satisfied in the coming of the Rev. John M. Sheehy, a young priest of the Diocese of Waterford, a native of Michelstown. Father Sheehy at once set to providing his flock with a chapel and the necessary house accommodation for a resident chaplain. In the early days of '89 a meeting to adopt measures for the building of an Irish church was held at Mr. Warner's house, in Calle Puerto, now San Martin, whereat the following committee was named for the inauguration of the enterprise: Rev. J. M. Sheehy, A. J. S. White, William Kehoe, W. M'Garrell, R. Warner, W. Monkhaus, M. Sheehy, and M. Lynch; the first three being president, secretary and treasurer, respectively. So successful were the new Chaplain's efforts in the raising of funds wherewith to carry out his mission that at a meeting in the following September it was announced that the site for the new church had already been bought and paid for. This meeting was a more democratic one than that at

Mr. Warner's, as the names of those attending it testify. It was held on the premises of the St. Patrick's Literary Society, an organization, like so many of its fellows in Buenos Aires, of all too short a career. The following were present at the meeting: Father Sheehy, Messrs. Warner, J. McCarthy, Wm. Kehoe, P. Ward, J. Keenan, M. Gearty, M. Walker, E. Kehoe, M. Sheehy, E. McCarthy, T. Boohan, F. Lynch, F. M'Mahon, W. Casey, F. Gearty, M. Gearty, T. O'Connor, P. Lawler, J. Sullivan, J. Kelly, J. Conway, J. Garrahan, R. Hammond, J. O'Connor, N. Hogan, and E. Scallan. The chapel and residence for the chaplain were commenced at once, and completed in record time. A great bazaar and raffle organized in the first months of '93 realized sufficient funds to pay off the remaining debt on the new edifices in Calle Salta, which edifices, by the way, have been very largely improved and added to since then.

In 1896 St. Patrick's Catholic Association was formed for the purpose of holding and controlling the Irish property already founded, and to be founded. The meeting at which this step was taken was held in Father Sheehy's parlor, in the first days of January, and was attended by a very representative gathering of Irish and Irish-Argentine residents, ladies and gentlemen. The following St. Patrick's Day, at a bazaar given in aid of the church, and held in the Cervantes Theatre, the first members of the new Association were inscribed. This bazaar and raffle, like the previous ones, were a great success. At that time there was a numerous Irish colony in Rosario, united and enthusiastic for the advancement of every religious or patriotic Irish cause. There were then frequent social reunions amongst our community, such as balls and concerts, and the feasts of St. Patrick and Santa Rosa were usually marked by one or both of this order of entertainments. There were still a large number of the first Irish settlers living and active, and it would seem, from the changed conditions amongst us, that they were much more social and neighborly with one another than their children show themselves to be, although individual hospitality and

good nature among the latter are virtues that have in no way failed or diminished. I must not forget to note, while on this subject, the pleasant annual feasts Don Patricio Ward used to give to his host of friends in those days at his estancia near Roldan.

Soon after the dissolution of the St. Patrick's Literary Society Mr. John Harte, an old member of the Irish National Foresters, sought to establish a branch of that beneficent organization amongst his countrymen in the city, and a considerable number of young men were enrolled as members, but after the first few meetings there was the usual falling off and slackening of enthusiasm, and like many another well-intentioned scheme it languished for support and failed after about a year of rather anemic life. For the remaining few years of the century there is nothing to be said of our community in the city but that it went on increasing in numbers and wealth. In the nearer and older camp districts the spread of tillage forbade an increase in numbers, for our people were not then inclined to be tillers of the soil, but it added greatly to the wealth of those of them in whom the promise of the second Beatitude was fulfilled—who possessed the land.

Albarracin, in his history of Cordoba, published a map which shows that in 1889, from Fort Melincué on to Rio Cuarto there was not a town, a village, not even an estate to be noted—it was left as a desert or unknown land. To-day that desert is a rich and populous region with dozens of railway-stations and a score of large and prosperous towns. One of the principal of these is Venado Tuerto, and the largest and most important Irish settlement anywhere in the Republic beyond the Province of Buenos Aires. In '79 Edward Casey purchased from the Government of Santa Fé some one thousand seven hundred square miles of land, and in the following year commenced the sale, in comparatively small lots, of the more conveniently located parts of this immense territory, chiefly to sheepfarmers from the Buenos Aires camps. Such the date and manner of beginning of

the Irish settlement of Venado Tuerto and the surrounding districts. The place was then considered very far out, and extremely wild. Some of the pioneers still tell touching stories of the dangers and loneliness of the country, and of the hardships that had to be endured before railroads, or indeed roads of any kind, connected it with anything like civilization. But, as in all new lands where wealth can be acquired rapidly, this backwoods state could not long prevail, and shops, the mail coach, the chaplain, the doctor, the schoolmaster came by degrees, and finally, the train was speeding through the smiling land before the experiences of the oldest inhabitant were a dozen years long. Father Flannery was the first Irish Chaplain to visit Venado Tuerto, as before the coming of Father Sheehy to Rosario all the departments of Santa Fé, where Irish people were settled, were attended by him at regular intervals.

Outside the department of Venado Tuerto there are numerous Irish estancias all across Southern Santa Fé and Cordoba and into San Luis, but with the exception of those around Melincué and one or two other towns they have all been established since the beginning of the present century.

Irish residents in Cordoba before the end of the last century were almost wholly connected with railroading and other such enterprises, and can scarcely be considered as settlers or colonizers. During the four years immediately preceding 1880, according to Albarracin, but ten Irish immigrants came to Cordona. The next twenty years, however, saw these ten several times multiplied, but of the increasing numbers few turned to the land for a living, and except for here and there an advance across the borders of the province from Buenos Aires and Santa Fé by a few sheepmen or cattlemen, the Irish ingredient in the population was practically confined to the provincial capital and the principal railroad centers till the first years of the present cycle.

In Entre Rios some Irish settled as early as they did in any part of Buenos Aires outside the city. In reports of passports issued to people going to that province Irish names

occur frequently from about 1826. In those days it was much easier to get to Gualaguachu than to Chascomus or Pergamino, for there was a fairly regular and comfortable boat service between the Capital and that Entrerian port, and until the passing of Urquiza it was considered by many a safer and more convenient region for sheepfarming than the outside departments of Buenos Aires. Like in Santa Fé the natives were more kindly disposed and less given to deeds of lawlessness than in the Queen Province. But with the fuller security for property and the more settled government that came with the administration of Mitre the outer camps of Buenos Aires began to offer the best inducements to those inclined to pastoral pursuits and so the movement of our people commenced to be rather from than to the mesopotamian Province. Among the names to be met with in records of affairs in Entre Rios I find O'Brien, Duffy, Donovan, Bookey, Byrne, O'Donnell, MacNamara, Gaynor, O'Dwyer, Mackey, O'Shaughnessy and many others less notably Irish, but which are quite common in Ireland, those given, however, are unmistakable. The first settlements of our people in that province were mostly in the Gualaguachu department and its neighborhood, but Paraná in the days of its greatness had a little Irish colony, too.

All the provinces have had, and still have, of course, Irish settlers, some of whom rose to high distinction, as O'Mills in Catamarca and Malouney in Jujuy, but I must leave the task of searching after these out-of-the-way offsprings of Kathleen-ni-Houlihán's scattered tribe to someone, or various, among the scattered. I have already urged that several of these someones tell what they know of their own surroundings, seek to know more and record what they learn. Thus would material be heaped up and preserved for the literary Goban Saor of the coming day to raise a tower as noble and lasting, to our race in Argentina, as any of the great works in lime and granite which the renowned artificer of the Gael has left to tell "how great was Eire." Names and events that may seem most commonplace and unworthy of note to-

day, because we are so familiar with them, may greatly interest our grandchildren, and so on down through the generations. So, now that you are at the end of this chapter, whether you be young or old, man or woman, if you know anything worth while, bearing on the Irish in Argentina, set to and write it off to some paper—get it into print, and you have done something—you have laid your stone on the *corn* of the race.

CHAPTER XXVI

DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING AT ALL THE FACTS OF IRISH-ARGENTINE HISTORY AND SOME OF THESE FACTS—THE BUILDING OF AN OLD-TIMES HOUSE—SELLING FARM PRODUCE—AMUSEMENTS—FUNERALS—HEALTH CONDITIONS—IMMIGRATION—THE FUTURE—LEADERSHIP—A CENSUS—CONCLUSION.

IT was only when searching for the information which I have tried to set before the reader in the foregoing chapters that I came to get something of an understanding as to how much larger a task the writing of a history of the Irish in Argentina was than the one I had mapped out for myself when I decided to write this book. Although I knew that it would be impossible to deal with such a subject in a detailed manner in a volume of the size I proposed publishing, I was quite unconscious of the amount of material of this kind, of great importance, that lay scattered about and hidden in strange places, and that, from its quantity and the labor its collection and co-ordinating would demand, I should have to pass over untouched almost. So it will be seen that the facts brought together from a number of sources and forming the story which fills the preceding pages are only the more prominent and easily discerned bodies in the fair constellation, to put in that way, of our people's record in this land. Anyone who looks at the sky of a fine clear night can see many beautiful stars, but it is only by careful study, and with the help of certain costly instruments, that the real beauties of the starry firmament can be got at. In more or less equal case have I found myself in scanning the past of our people in this country. I lacked the time and many other requisites for a sustained and penetrating view, and thus had to leave much to someone better equipped to discover, but I searched with fond-

ness and attention as far as the vision that was mine could carry, and, although I am well aware of how much I have missed, I have seen many interesting things—more than I expected—but they are what I may call things of the first and second magnitude, the less clear members of the cluster have still to be searched out and mapped.

In New York our wealthier people have formed an Irish-American Historical Society with members scattered all over the country, and these members gather or encourage and assist the gathering of every scrap of historical information of an Irish or Irish-American character that can be laid hands upon. The members are not all literary men, nor are they all very rich men, but they are all patriotic men—good Americans who are proud of their race and of the part their race has played in the making of the greatest nation the world has yet seen. They have done great things for American history, which means for good Americanism, for they have brought to light a lot of facts which previous American historians, seldom friendly, or even fair, to anything Catholic or Irish, have rather distorted or entirely ignored. The society has thus done great things for Ireland; for they have procured for her some of her due in the eyes of the world; and they have done great things for themselves and their fellow-Irish-American-citizens, for they have made men of the Irish race more regarded and honored in a land where there is, even still, a bitter anti-Irish and anti-Catholic party, not very open in its activity, but very tireless and wonderfully effective.

It has frequently appealed to me how much such a society could do in the collecting preserving and making public of the scattered, decaying and hidden treasure of Irish-Argentine historical material that lies about in old family archives, and half forgotten official records, as well as in old pamphlets and periodicals which have not found their way into the public libraries, but still exist in out-of-the-way places. The origin of the old families of Irish name who were here before the Revolution; the part which Morris,

John Brown, Fleming of Lima, Gahan and Shannon, the skippers of Revolutionary time, and many others played in making this country a free nation; the many stories and traditions of Brown, O'Brien, Father Fahey and others; the Irish chaplaincy of the first twenty years of settlement of our people in Buenos Aires; the number of minor officers and privates who served in the army or navy of the Independence period, and in all the military campaigns since; what has become of the considerable amount of Irish property in chapels, schools, priests' residences, libraries, etc., which once was ours, are some of the matters it would be good for the public, and especially the Irish-sprung public, to know about. Scarcely any one individual now living, or to come after, can ever get to know, rescue and elucidate, as the need may be, all the interesting bits and scraps of what is our full story, but many, each one contributing what he can, would in time accomplish much in this direction, especially if these were those having such material or who could reach those having it. I have great faith in the manly spirit and good race-pride of the present generation of young Irish-Argentines, of both sexes, and I have enumerated the above few items with strong hope that some of these young men or young women will be attracted to the patriotic, pleasant and useful work of studying and bringing to light for us all these interesting, but at present, clouded phases of our colony's story. It is, however, and I take the risk of making myself tiresome in the reiteration of the statement, through a society like that one of our cousins in North America, of which I have spoken, that the best work to this effect could be done.

It will be noticed, perhaps with something of objection, that I have given a very large place in this work to the wool-raising industry, and possibly have overlooked many matters quite intimately associated with the everyday concerns of our people. But let it be borne in mind that that was the line in life which gave occupation to fully nine-tenths of our community throughout two-thirds of the last century, and also that this work does not purpose to do

much more than make a surface examination of the ground gone over, and the peculiarity referred to, if such it be, will be sufficiently explained.

Although the extracts I have given from the picturesque portrayal of the shepherd's duties and dwelling by the late William Bulfin are particularly faithful, so far as they go, it must not be forgotten that not all the people who tended flocks on the lovable but somewhat mysterious Pampas were bachelors, whose lives were passed in lazy abundance or terms of disheartening famine. There were married people, too, and pleasant young families, and grand homes and humble homes, and glad days and sad happenings, as is the lot of mortals wherever that lot be cast. Young people had their loves and sports and disappointments, and old people their worries and aches and enjoyments, as young and old have in all lands, and I shall here record a few items peculiar to that country life that is now almost a thing of the past. The last twenty years have been years of rapid transition, and there will be such a gulf between the ways of the country people twenty years hence and those of the people of twenty years ago, that scarcely anything from the country life of the last century will be visible to the eye that looks only at the landscape.

The shepherd's hut, as Bulfin showed it to us, was the starting point of most of our Irish-Argentine homesteads. The splendid estancia house, substantial and commodious, with its renaissance mural decorations, frescoed ceilings and carved panelings; its Roman luxuries and costly modern comforts; its tasteful gardens and bowers, and varied and picturesque groves, was so commenced. Many a man whose first occupation in the new land was digging a ditch or dagging sheep lived to be the justly proud owner of such a delightful home. But people of such extreme good fortune were, of course, the fewer among the many who could be said with truth to have succeeded. As is the world's way there were grades and classes in the successes achieved, and, naturally, the greater number only got as far as what I may call com-

paratively comfortable circumstances; and I will try to sketch in brief something of the homes and home life of this class, as being the most numerous, those who have most generally disappeared, and who, therefore, are the most important to be remembered in a record of things that were.

One of the many advantages which the rich plains of Buenos Aires offered to the rural settler was the ease with which he could provide himself with a fairly comfortable house. The term "mud cabin" or "mud-wall dwelling" is one that conveys to us, off hand, something of a notion of squalor and poverty, and in Ireland, where "the peasant scarce had leave to live" up to a little more than a generation ago, the connection was only too real, but, as the saying is, circumstances alter cases, and mud may be quite respectable, relatively considered. In the old days in Buenos Aires a man went forth with his flock of sheep free as the wind. If he found the pasturage he desired he made a deal with the proprietor thereof for the use of a certain tract of the land for a certain period, and his next care was to provide himself with a dwelling wherein to abide on that particular area. This he proceeded to construct by the skill of his own hands and the sweat of his own brow, no masons, carpenters, plumbers, painters or glaziers had to be sought out and hired. He dug up the black rich earth to the depth of a new spade's blade in a circle of thirty or forty feet in diameter, poured, plentifully, the water from a well, already prepared close by, into the newly turned earth, and mounted on one of his horses set to maneuvering as many of his troop as he could handle within the narrow circle till he had the plastic earth therein, as deep as he had dug, worked into a cohesive mass, as clay is when ready to be moulded into bricks. Dry grass or sedge off the plain around was worked into this mass while in process of preparation, and from this composition the walls of the house were shaped by the builder setting one soft loaf of the material upon another and bruising in the joints till the rafters were reached. Of course the skeleton of the habitation is usually formed first,

with four corner-posts well set in the ground, some stanchions intervening between these posts, and all bound together with fence wire or slats. In olden times the covering or thatch was made from a sort of strong rush which grows in swampy places, but for the last forty years or more zinc and boards have taken the place of the *paja* thatch. These mud walls, when well made, and protected by a liberally projecting eave are strong and durable, and take a lime whitewashing as well as mortar plastered walls. Where the building material was so easily found and construction so simple it need hardly be explained that the number and size of the rooms in the dwelling mostly depended upon the requirements of the family, but a parlor (*sala*), dining-room, sleeping-rooms, kitchen and a shed for all uses usually formed a moderately well-to-do family's residence. Where the owners of the land built the habitation it was generally constructed of brick burned convenient to where the dwelling was to be raised, the mortar used being mud, and prepared in the manner of that used in building the mud wall already described. Lime and sand being now more easily transported into country places form the mortar mostly used in such constructions at the present time, but fifty years ago it was otherwise, and a few years since I heard an old man tell that he drew the lime and sand, fifty years before, from a river port, Baradero, I believe, that built Mooney's house in Giles, the only house in all the country for miles around in which such materials were used. Few of the old mud-wall estancias now remain, but as late as twenty years ago they were common enough. The new generation, with new ideas and more wealth and security, have been changing things, and Argentina has suddenly become a land of luxury, fashion and taste the most modernized—and why not?—win gold and wear it!

When wool, hides, grease and fat animals were the chief or only products of the land, the buyer came to the door of the seller, made his bargain, sent his carts or troopers, as the case might warrant, and carried away his purchase; no

going to markets or fairs; the price was agreed to while the produce was still on the ground from which it sprang.

The people's big diversion was the horse-racings to which reference has already often been made, and which are now mostly things of the past, at least, in the old style. The cattle marking also was something of a sporting event, although a very necessary business operation. It combined, however, a good deal of entertainment with the hard and exciting labor the men had to perform, and, like the harvest *meehils* at home, cheered along with a liberal sending round of the bowl, or tin cup, it was commonly followed by a dance and feasting. Dances in the old, good times were very common and afforded great amusement, and, indeed, made life very sociable and pleasant in what would otherwise be an existence rather lonesome and boring. There was an occasional flute-player, sometimes a fiddler, but always an abundance of operators on the accordion, and the accordion was a piece of furniture that scarcely any house was without. I believe real musicians hardly recognize the accordion as an instrument of their cult at all, but, for all that, it is a sure fact that its inventor, counting the years since it got rightly started, has amused and gratified fifty times more of his fellow mortals than the inventor who has the grand piano to his credit. It is ordinary and vulgar according to the ideas of the people who like to talk of what they call "classic music," but it is as good as a whole band to a small crowd who want to dance and be merry. With an abundance of music thus always on hand it was easy to improvise a dancing party on a summer's evening or a winter's night; for although the houses were generally half a mile or more apart, the fact that everybody who was able to mount a horse had one or more to mount, made considerable distances, when there was any possibility of a few hours' enjoyment, not a matter of any great difficulty. So it was easy to get young people enough together to make an evening or a whole night go by very pleasantly. Irish dances were generally favored by the elder folks, but the

agreeably jingling polka and the swaying, whirling waltz were the joy and glory of the younger element—the “country-borns,” as their Irish-born parents and friends used to call them. This kind of diversion, with the passing of sheep-farming, in the old-fashioned way, has almost vanished from the camp Irish of the present time, and more’s the pity.

A marriage in those days was an epoch-making event, for it was usual to have at least one afternoon’s and night’s dancing, sometimes more, and all neighbors and friends, that is, of our own race, were invited. I have already mentioned that our first settlers were greatly averse to making familiar friends of the ordinary “natives,” so, few of them were ever invited or permitted to attend these merrymakings. A select party went with the bride and groom, often to the number of a couple of dozen, to the town or church where the religious ceremony was to take place. This rite was performed as early in the day as the circumstances allowed, and by the time the party returned to the family house many of the less honored guests had gathered there, and, dinner and toasts disposed of, little time was lost till the dancing was under way. There being always more dancers than the dancing space could accommodate there was never, all the night long, any flagging or slackening of enthusiastic merriment. A challenge race made during the night by some of the guests, most of whom came ahorseback, might be run soon after sunrise, or, indeed, several such races, and a game of chance on the *taba* was sure to play a part in the outdoor variation of the entertainment. If the new home of the principals in the feast was not too distant the journey thither was not commenced till the afternoon. I speak, of course, of the days when great areas of the green plains were not yet circumscribed and guarded by the useful but travel-hampering wire fence. The home-bringing of the bride was as a rule effected in the company of a numerous train; coaches, brakes and whatever other vehicles were in use in the district were all pressed into service on occasions of this kind, but the majority of the participants made the journey

on their best mounts, and the train was a glad and happy one, indeed.

Burials and funerals the camp knows of, too. But the custom of burying the dead the day after the demise had, and, of course, has still, the effect of curtailing the proportions of the funeral corteges. All the neighbors for several leagues around, were, however, advised when anyone died, and the funeral was an event that only insurmountable difficulties would hinder a neighbor being in attendance at. The priest and the undertaker were the first to be notified, and both got as quickly as they could to the home of the deceased. The funeral procession having sometimes as far as eight or ten leagues of journey to make, started early, and again all the variety of vehicular conveyance noted in the bridal home-coming was in line, and again, too, the cavalcade formed by far the greater number of the solemn and quick moving concourse that hurried over the horizon-rimmed plain. One of these funerals in the years now long gone by was a most impressive and picturesque sight. Only the old towns had cemeteries then, hence the great distances funerals had sometimes to traverse.

Life on the plains, in the old days of the first and second generations of settlers, notwithstanding that it was not what might be called toilsome, and notwithstanding that the Argentine climate is a decidedly fair and agreeable one, was not so suited to our immigrants as people think who look at the matter merely from the knowledge offered by the fact of so large a proportion of them succeeding, in a business way. The acquiring of wealth, although a very important aim in nature's plan, is not, however, the only or even the chief temporal purpose for which man is placed upon earth by the Creator. Man was meant, when placed here on earth, to stay here as long as humanly possible; or, in other words, to live to be old. And where this purpose is not fulfilled there is something wrong. The Irishmen and Irishwomen who came here in the past were almost all young in years and very healthy, yet comparatively few of them have lived

to be old; life for our people in the past in the Argentine was, therefore, not by any means ideal. Men who assiduously and conscientiously cared for their master's or their own flocks had often to endure much hardship, in the cold rains and winds of winter, as also, though, of course, in lesser degree, in the droughts and pitiless suns of summer. Camping away from home in times of pasturage want, where, not alone all kinds of home comforts were lacking, but even the shelter of a roof was often unknown for months at a time, could not but have its effect; the change from an almost exclusively vegetable and cereal diet, as in the homeland, to one wherein scarcely any variation of mutton and coffee occurred year in, year out, was no less likely to make itself felt unfavorably as time went by; and next to these, so serious strains on men's health, or, as some would hold, a consequence of them in most cases, the dreadfully unrestrained use of alcoholic drink, which was then so common, was equally certain to produce its evil results; and thus early demise among our people, especially our men, came to be so ordinary that it is impossible to make a study of their story in this land without remarking it. If statistics could be made and published of the death rate of the Irish immigrants up to, say the year 1890, I am very confident its exceptional height would be very surprising. Cancer, it was stated by certain medical men some time ago, was more common amongst the Irish in Argentina than amongst people of other descent. I have heard little on this subject in recent years, but deaths from heart failure amongst people of Irish birth was always noticeably common. It is a fact, however, that the second and third generations of Irish-Argentines are as free from these and all other diseases as are any other strain of Argentines whatever.

From the time of the "Dresden's" coming, whether from the disappointment and suffering of the immigrants, through the Government's mismanagement of the affair, and the ill reports that got abroad in Ireland therefrom, or that other countries offered greater advantages to the emigrant, Irish

immigration into this country has fallen off greatly, that of the laboring or farming class entirely; but young men capable of filling clerical positions, and young women who mostly find occupation as teachers and governesses, continue to come in limited numbers, and for the most part remain in the capital and one or two of the chief business cities. Irish emigration to Argentina is just now at about the lowest point it has reached in a hundred years, but I believe that an upward tendency will soon begin to show itself. When the present war is over, which God grant may be soon, and the economic affairs of the world get back to a condition that we will be able to call normal, we may, I feel certain, expect to see this country make very general and somewhat rapid industrial progress. Many lessons are being learned, at great cost and much humiliation, from this fearful world conflict by Argentine statesmen and men of affairs, that will surely bear fruit in making the nation less dependent on the outside world for so many of the necessities of civilized and politically strong national life. It is a mistake to think that Argentine backwardness in manufactures is due to a lack of native raw materials. Probably none of the great manufacturing countries of the world, except the United States, produces so much of what is essential to this order of industry as she does, and no doubt this kind of national development will receive more effective governmental attention from this on. So, as I look to Argentina as the country of the world whose geographical position, natural resources and urgent necessities combine to give her precedence, among the new countries, in industrial development, I foresee a revival of Irish immigration as considerable, at least, as that which Australia or South Africa may be able to attract. Although, under the native government which we expect to result from this war, Ireland will have work for all her people, for some generations, at least, there will still be some who will go abroad, just as we see, even now, some Argentines going to seek their fortunes in North

America and Australia, and this country will get a large proportion of these.

This new and continuous stream of immigration will serve to strengthen and renew the ties of kindred and association between the old nation and its offshoot here, and although, because of occasional intermarryings between our people in this country and fellow Argentines of other strains, a thing, by the way, that has gone on from the beginning, some people think they see a gradual coalescing of our element of the citizenship into absolute Argentines without distinction or qualification as to origin, I, on the contrary, believe that it will be proportionately as strong and as distinctively Irish-Argentine in a hundred years from now as it is to-day. People who give expression to ideas like those I refer to forget how conservative and tenacious the Irish nature is. If it were not that a foreign language had been forced by centuries of persecution, proscription, fine, and even torture upon them, the Irish people have changed nothing since the days of Columcille, except in the mere surface matters which in all ages come to peoples as the centuries move by; such as the modernization of wearing apparel, occupations and the adoption of the benefits which science has conferred upon the world in common. The same religion is still theirs, the same ideals, even the same games.¹ Ireland is still the land where the "old are so wise and the young so gentle." There men and women of pure and virtuous lives still raise large and healthy families (a thing that has come to be wondered at in other nations, old and new). Seven hundred years and more of struggle, mostly a losing one, for an ideal; and now the reconquest of the language, the only great possession which the nation has failed to hold, for the land was never entirely lost, do not bespeak a people that lightly loses its identity in the world.

I know families whose grandfathers and great-grand-

¹ Here in Argentina the only athletic game that has ever prospered among our young men is that of camanact, beloved of the renowned Cuhullion, and which the mighty Finn and his comrades played all over Eire.

fathers came here nearly a hundred years ago who take great pains to learn Irish music, Irish dances, and to keep up Irish customs, and who even speak English with an Irish accent; yet, of course, who would never yield a point to any of their fellow-citizens in loyalty to their native land. Many of these are, indeed, more Irish, and better Irish, than their grandfathers were. And this being the case in the past and at the present time, with an Ireland humiliated and without a place in the society of nations, what may we expect in the future that will know a great, free, progressive, republican Ireland?

The schools of the ancient free Ireland were one of her chief glories, and the salvation of continental Europe, they will not be less a characteristic of the new free Ireland, and, from the way things are looking now, Europe will stand as much in need of them by-and-by as she did twelve hundred years ago. Most of our Irish-Argentine families who will be able to afford the outlay will consider it a wise investment to have their boys, at least, educated in Ireland, for such an education will be a mark of merit that will have its business use as well as its social distinguishment. And this condition, that will surely be, as well as the trade and immigration from the fatherland, are chief among the things that clearly convince me that when another hundred years are over the Irish in Argentina will be just as much themselves, and themselves only, as they are to-day. And why not? To change would not be to improve; and it is not our way to go backward or stand still.

There are no better Argentines than those of Irish blood, and yet they are very distinct from the general body of their fellow-citizens. Not only in their personal characteristics, social dispositions and business and political morality, but even their spiritual outlook is still the old Irish one. Go into any of the country towns, where the Irish in other times settled and established families, but where Irish-born men and women are now quite few, and who do you see coming long distances on Sunday morning into these towns

to attend Mass? Those large, symmetrical men and fair stately women whom you see around the church, or meet at the inns, or in the business houses are not of the race which makes up the great majority of the country's population. Whether you go to Monte or Pergamino, Capilla or Chivilcoy, Lobos or Rojas, Arrecifes or Chacabuco, Chascomus or Carmen de Areco, Mercedes or San Pedro, Lujan or Venado Tuerto, or any other district where the Irish settled, you will find their children and grandchildren coming in to Mass on Sunday, and you will find also that they are about the only people who do,¹ just as was the custom of their forebears. Though it is common throughout the country to work on Sunday, people of Irish descent are, and always have been, noted for their avoidance, as much as possible, of that sinful, ugly and animalizing custom, and, indeed, every friend of social order, as well as of Christian decency and national advancement, should applaud and emulate their faithfulness to the holy and wise command of keeping the Lord's Day. The Irish are generally very highly considered by their neighbors, and I have often heard it said, that it was through the rectitude in business, and faithfulness to promise, of the Irish, that the expression "palabra del ingles" (word of the Englishman) came to mean absolute trustworthiness; the Irish and Scotch, as well as the English themselves, are generally designated "ingleses" by the common people. This assertion may be true or not, I offer no opinion for or against, but I know that the English in Buenos Aires very well deserve the compliment. Whatever John Bull may be in politics and international dealings, there is no man truer to his word in business.

¹ A certain Parish Priest, of Basque birth, in a country town was asked by a friend in the Federal Capital, not long ago, how he was getting along with his congregation. "My only trouble with my congregation," replied the Pastor, "is that it does not trouble me at all. For instance, on account of the heavy rains last Friday and Saturday, which prevented the Irish from coming in, my congregation consisted on Sunday of three old women, two young girls, a dog and an American dentist." The dentist in the case was an Irish-American.

It is not in business, military, naval, scientific, educational, and religious affairs only that the Irish in Argentina have made themselves a proud name. The most meritorious of Argentine painters, so far, was a young Irish-Argentine, Henry Sheridan, son of Peter Sheridan of sheep-farming fame, who died in 1861, at the age of 27 years. This young landscapist has left some very notable work after him. His pictures were mostly bought up by English people and brought home to their country, but some of his best works still remain in Buenos Aires. Hernan Cullen is a noted sculptor of the present day, and there are numerous literati and people in other branches of art of first rank who spring from Irish stock, but who are in name and thought and work Argentine, though always proud of their connection with "la verde Erin." The army and navy have scarcely ever been without men of Irish name in all the ranks, right up to the top.

A thing our people always lacked in Argentina is leadership. We have not had at any time in all our century of life here what might be considered as even a close approach to real leadership. Father Fahey was, of course, a man of great influence with our people, and trusted and beloved by them as no other man ever was. But his work was that of the pastor of his flock; he preached religion to them, he counseled them for their temporal good, he interceded for them when they got into trouble with the authorities, which was a great deal, and left organizing them for political and economic selfhelpfulness to others, and the others never rose to the occasion. Edward Mulhall was the first to make a strong and persevering effort to be a leader of this order among his people; and he was about as fit for the undertaking and as apt to succeed in it as, at present, Sir Horace Plunkett would be in a similar case with the Irish people at home. Mulhall was a well-meaning, amiable man, but he never could get it into his head that Ireland should be anything but a part of the British Empire, nor that the Irish people, at home or abroad, should have any

earthly aspirations but to get on in the world and be loyal to "our leige Lady the Queen." Others since his time have tried their hand at the same task. Some of these have followed, more or less, the lines he marked out, while others again have taken courses at right angles to his path, but none of them have succeeded. The late Mr. Bulfin was one of the sanest and most nearly successful who took the matter up; he was making good progress; the people were gathering to him; he had real ability, and seemed to have got to understand how to use it; but he had only commenced, commenced well, when death intervened. No one else had ever united so many of our people under a really self-respecting, self-asserting, Irish-Argentine banner as he had. The guiding influence with him was that spirit which the Gaelic League had aroused, and which is clearly expressed, for those who are touched by that spirit, in the three words, *an Irish Ireland*. The closer the Irish-Argentine people could be brought into communion with that spirit and influence the better it would be for them and for Ireland; this Bulfin saw; for this he worked, and was succeeding. This is the only line, because it is in accordance with the laws of human nature, along which success in such a purpose has any possibility of being achieved. The greater part of his people fell in with his ideas, these ideas were not inspired by anything of rancor, partizanism, or selfishness, and they stood for good patriotism, good manhood and good common sense.

It is no easy matter to influence and lead our people here; they are proud, more than a little egotistic, somewhat suspicious, unaccustomed to real party politics and leadership, and then they are smitten to no small extent with that accursed Latin product, which all South America has loved so much to cultivate and foster, called *amor propio*, which has played, and still plays, so large a part in the wrecking of high national hopes and promising public careers. All those I have mentioned as in any way rising towards the height of leadership, commencing away back with

O'Brien, were Irish-born, and whatever possibility there was of men so circumstanced succeeding in the past I believe there will be less of such possibility in the future. Yet, this is the greatest want of the Irish-Argentine people at the present time. They may not see it in this way themselves, most of them do not see it in this way; but what are they in the Argentine Republic as an influence or a power for the good of their country or themselves, as a community or entity, compared with what they might be as an organized and well-directed body? Let them ask themselves the question, and if, after giving it intelligent thought, they will make an honest answer to it, that answer will be that they amount to little or nothing. Little or nothing in the public affairs of their own country, and in the protection and advancement of their own business interests, in comparison with what they might be and ought to be, considering their resources and opportunities! As a body they are wealthier and more numerous than the English, the Germans, or the Americans.

It was a great mistake on the part of our first settlers, that instead of, as did their brothers who turned towards North America, becoming citizens of their adopted land they remained subjects of the English monarch—our first sorry result of want of leadership—there was no one to show them the mistake they were making. That error has kept the Irish and their descendants “ingleses” ever since—dependants, in some unaccountable and really pitiable way, of the English. With some notable exceptions the wealthy of our people, as referred to in an earlier chapter, actually call themselves, in the most slavish and, of course, untruthful manner, “britanicos;” while numbers of the humbler, employed in English and American concerns, where they practically, owing to their native ability and their command of the two languages, could not be done without, are positively afraid to call their souls their own when it is a question of the great world causes and conflicts that are in everybody's mind and mouth at the present moment, and in view

of their helpless condition they cannot be found much fault with for this. But is it not a shameful position to be in in their own land, and that a free republic?

The mistake of the old settlers may be palliated to some extent, it was, nevertheless, a most unfortunate mistake, but what excuse have their descendants, those of them who do, for following the same course, in as far as in their power lies? None at all. And it bespeaks for them want of patriotism, want of spirit and want of common sense; three ugly and degrading characteristics. Still I do not believe that our people anywhere, of whatever rank, if put to the test are wanting in any of the qualities mentioned. The fact is they have never awakened to their true position here—there has been nobody to awaken them—nobody to put them to the test. Individuals, no doubt, there have been who were alive to these realities, but not everybody who sees an error can correct it. What is needed in Irish-Argentina is a sort of mental revolution, or what the sects in the United States call a revival movement.

By far the greater number of the Irish-Argentine people are still on the land, and live by it. They are more of the country and more with the country than either of the other classes, but their effect on its political life, and for usefulness to each other is nearly nil. All this comes from the want of organization. "Union is strength"; and the word union as here applied is only another name for organization, and organization there cannot be without leadership. Hence my saying that leadership is the greatest need of our people here at the present time. We are now like a fine young athlete; we are healthy, strong, can run, jump and use our fists quite well, and have done so already in a rough and amateurish way, but it is only with training and direction we can get beyond our amateurishness, that we can compete with the professionals that we have to contend against, and get our share of the prizes and championships—can take our right and proper place, free men and true, in the Argentine Republic.

And now, before dropping this point, let me say that every man and woman in the land can do something in this training and direction while we are awaiting the leader that will some day come. Each one can try to train and direct himself and herself to be good Argentines and good Irish; to not be too ready to suspect everyone who proposes to do anything of a public nature to be animated by some selfish ambition or unworthy motive; to be willing to lend a hand wherever a worthy general or local effort is being made to unite and bring people together for their amusement, enlightenment, or political, or religious improvement; to be tolerant of other people's opinions; when divisions amongst us arise, as happens in all communities, not to be *bitter* partizans; and above all things not to be guilty, when disagreements may occur, of that mean, false and fool cry, which the enemy has kindly provided us with to use against ourselves, "Oh, the Irish can never agree." The Irish can agree among themselves as well as any other race upon earth, and they have agreed upon a few things which their enemies and calumniators have used fire and sword and every wile and endless treasure to force or coax them to disagree upon, and which after centuries of such effort are still the worry and despair of these same enemies and calumniators. And if you want a handy example of the occasional disagreements among themselves of other good men than those of your own race, take a look into the glorious, though comparatively short, history of the country in which you were born.

It is very difficult to arrive at anything like a satisfactory conclusion as to the number of people now in Argentina of Irish birth and descent. There is no census to calculate from, that is, of the races, and there are many people of Irish ancestry on one side, at least, who have not Irish names, and then there are many Irish people whom by their names one cannot distinguish as such from English, Scottish, or American; as, for example, Smyth, Brown, Jones, Green, Gray, Wilson, Graham, Johnson, Thomson, Hamilton, Miller, Edwards, Robins, Robertson, Roberts, Robinson, and

a number of Macs and others. Then at what distance, in the case of families of mixed race, from the stem that had both parents Irish, or of Irish name, must we stop considering a family as of Irish descent, or justly to be regarded as of the Irish race? These are some of the difficulties that make the accurate counting of the number of Irish-Argentines at present time, 1917, next to impossible. A thing I have found both here and in North America, among people of mixed Irish and other blood, is that such people prefer clinging to the Irish side in their strain rather than to the other, this is not told in boast, although it is something for Irish people to feel pride in. I could mention a multitude of cases that have come to my own knowledge to confirm this statement, but I will content myself with mentioning two, only:

Years ago I arrived at a certain point on the Cordoba and Santa Fé Railroad where the train put off and took on passengers although there was no station or house anywhere close-by—nothing but the open plain. There were a few people gathered around the spot, some to take the train and some to receive friends or mail which they expected. They were all natives of the district, but the person I expected to meet me was not among them. I looked through the eight or ten people who made up the little group, but saw no one likely to be English-speaking, and I could speak very little Spanish myself. One man, however, amongst them struck me as having something of a friendly look about him, although he was quite dark in complexion and dressed exactly in the style of the "sons of the country." I went to him and asked him if he spoke English, he answered me in Spanish that he did not know English, but that he would take me to the house of an "irlandes," for being Irish himself he knew all the Irish around there. I thought for the moment he was talking in joke, but learned when I got to my countryman's and friend's house that the name of this *gaucho*-looking man was McCann. His mother was Argentine; his father had died while he was very young. I often

meet a little school-girl of chestnut-colored hair whose father is a Spaniard, but whose mother is an Irish-Argentine, and while understanding that she is half Spanish, for I know her father, I one day, on account of the color of her hair, called her an "inglesita" (a little English girl), but she promptly and somewhat resentfully corrected me saying that she was an "irlandesita" (a little Irish girl).

Whether or not it would be fair to count such people as the two I have just told about as Irish and a part of the Irish community, I shall not seek to decide; they themselves would in almost every case insist on being Irish-Argentine, and I have found many of them more Irish in their ways and sentiments than some of their compatriots with purely Milesian names, but the matter is not of very much importance here. Probably if all the people of such mixed blood in Argentina, that is, Irish on one side, were counted they would not number anything like ten thousand, and I shall not include them in my calculation, as affecting it so lightly.

In the early Forties it was calculated that there was less than four thousand Irish people in the country, and in 1879 the Archbishop of Buenos Aires stated the number in the country districts as twenty-eight thousand. In neither case is it explained whether the number given relates to only Irish-born or to people of Irish birth and descent. If only Irish born be meant the number may be, approximately, correct, in both cases; but if they purposed to include all of Irish birth and descent in the country in their different times, they were nothing more than a hopelessly poor guess, especially so that of the later date. If the Archbishop meant his number to represent Irish families or Irish householders I think it would be more nearly correct, although I should say something of an over estimate.

Could his figure be relied upon, and did it include all the Irish-born and people of Irish-descent, in the city and outside of the city limits, we could come to a reasonably close and safe estimate of our present numbers. But I think anyone who makes out a calculation grounded on his figures

will see from the resultant total that he worked on a wrong basis, for the number he would get would be far below what obviously our present population is. It must be admitted too that our people have not made the increase that might naturally be expected from a virtuous and fairly well-to-do people in a new country, which fact would further show that the figures of Dr. Aneiros are either incorrect or indefinite. This matter of a falling off in the progenitiveness of the Irish in the last couple of generations is noticeable also in Ireland and the United States as well as here, although less so in Ireland than in this or the Northern Republic. Early marriages have been remarkably on the decline in Ireland for more than a generation or so, but not to so large an extent, although with better reason, as amongst us here and in the United States.

The enumeration of deaths gives something of a clue to the number of our people as compared to that of the whole population. But then comes several difficulties: the number of districts where no such statistics are published, and again the number of names that may or may not be Irish, and still again the number of names that are mutilated or Argentinized. But making allowances for everything, after looking at the matter from various angles, and considering every point, pro and con, that my study of the question presented me with, I have decided on offering the following figures as an honest effort at a guess: In Buenos Aires City, 30,000; outside the city, in the whole Republic, 80,000; 110,000, all told.

Now we have seen the first coming of the Irish to the Rio de la Plata country; followed them in their enterprises and efforts in peace and war; traced, lightly, their progress; told something of their foibles and faults; took a passing glance at their everyday life, with its joys and sorrows; made a record of the institutions that were peculiarly theirs; have forecast something of their future, according to my own lights; and counted their numbers with care, but with nothing like guaranteed accuracy. And, so, my book is finished.

It is not without errors; it is far from being a complete history; but it is something done. I hope it will give pleasure, enlightenment, and pride to those for whom it was written, and that it will give pain or annoyance to no one. If it have this result I shall be richly rewarded for whatever of time and toil I have given to its writing, but anyhow I shall always have the satisfaction of knowing that I have left something after my hands that will be for the good of our people, and that I am sure, without any fear of being over presumptuous, that many of them will be so pleased for that they will gladly excuse my all too obvious shortcomings as an author and a historian.

THE END

VOCABULARY OF SPANISH WORDS AND PHRASES

- Balde sin fondo*, bucket without bottom.
Barraca, storage place, warehouse.
Campo, camp; the country as distinct from the city, land.
Cafia, cane, strong spirits extracted from the sugar cane, rum.
Cardo, a kind of broad-leafed sweet thistle.
Casique, an Indian chief.
Catre, a kind of bedstead, a bed, a cot.
Caudillo, a military or political small calibre boss.
Chiquero, a sheep-pen, pen for anything.
Criollo, criole, any native of the country (loosely used).
Cura, a parish priest, commonly any priest.
Estancia, estate house, estate.
Gancho, a hook.
Gracera, a place for rendering fat animals into grease.
Griego, a corruption of the word griego, Greek; hard to be understood, a foreigner.
Guarda, a guard, a policeman.
Paisano, a peasant, a fellow countryman.
Pajonales, districts or places overrun with coarse grass, *paja*.
Partido, parish, district.
Peon, a servant boy or hired man.
Plantel, a foundation, especially stock to breed from.
Poncho, a kind of cloak or shawl with a hole in the center for the head to go through, Indian, I believe.
Porteño, a person belonging to the port, now anyone born in or belonging to Buenos Aires City or Province.
Puesto, a place, position or place one occupies, here a sheep-run.
Pulperia, a country shop or store, a shebeen.
Recaco, a saddle of a particular type, a riding gear.
Saladera, a meat curing establishment of the old time.
Tolderia, an Indian village or camp, a place of tents, tentage.

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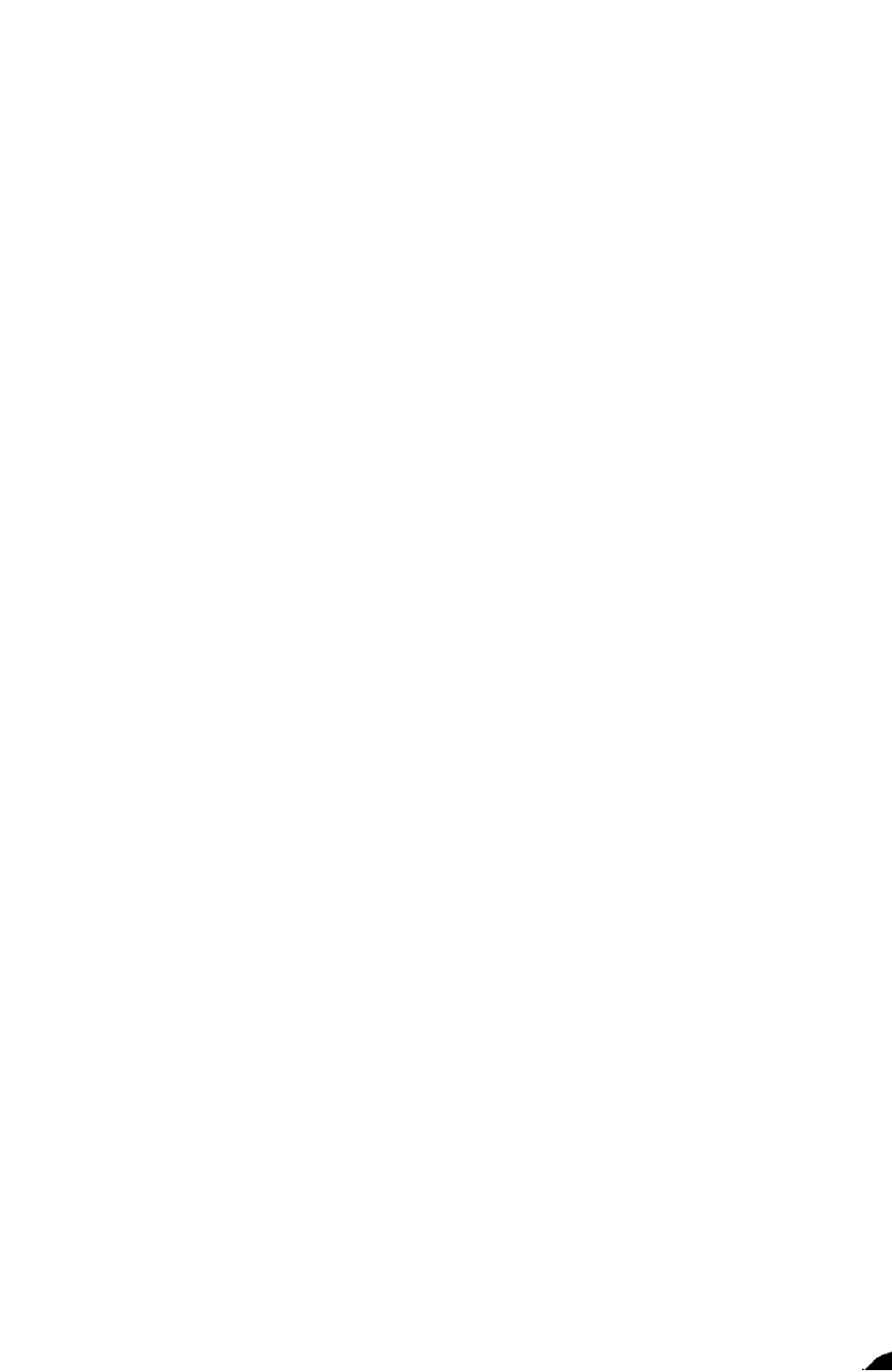
CORRECTIONS.

P. 23,	L. 21	and others read,	saladero.
32,	21	„	enemy's.
42,	6	and others	„ Lautaro.
61,	16	„	fondo.
91,	13	„	Alameda.
108,	28	„	cacique.
137,	9	„	1844.
142,	13	„	sulky.
264,	31	„	slightly.
266,	6	„	graseria.
271,	1	„	cina-cina.
271,	4	„	cicuta.
486,	2	„	posts.









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